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SPECIAL

THE LEVON CHANTH
MISSION TO MOSCOW

by

Hambardzoum Terterian

also

Reuben Darbinian

Dr. George P. Rice, Jr.

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Rev. Torkom Postajian

P. K. Thomajan

Diana Der Hovanessian

Vahe A. Sarafian

Karlen Mooradian

Nuber Kazanjian

Rouben Gavoor

H. Kurdian

Harry Komoorian

Poetry, Reviews, Stories, Articles

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The ARMENIAN REVIEW

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SUMMER, 1955

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The ARMENIAN REVIEW

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THE LEVON CHANTH MISSION TO MOSCOW

PART I

HAMBARDZOU M TERTERIAN



I

On April 28 of 1920 it became known in Erivan that the Republic of Azerbaijan under mysterious circumstances had been declared a Soviet republic. According to telegraphic dispatches, the only source, a Bolshevik armored car, without firing a shot or meeting any resistance, had entered the station of Baku after which Azerbaijan had been declared a soviet and a new government called Revolutionary Committee had been appointed.

The greater part of the Armenian populace of Erivan and the leading intellectuals of the city were highly pleased that, with the overthrow of the Musavatist government, an end would be made to the internecine fights in Karabagh and Zangezour, that these two provinces would at last become united with the Republic of Armenia, and that the new development would

open an era of friendly relations between the two countries.

The jubilation of these optimists, however, was short lived. In less than 24 hours the Government of Armenia received a memorandum from the newly created Revolutionary Committee of Azerbaijan. The memorandum, worded in the form of an ultimatum, demanded that the Armenian Government immediately vacate the "indisputable Azeri territories" of all Armenian occupational units, threatening, in the contrary event, to take necessary steps.

The Azeri ultimatum fell like a bombshell and brought the Armenian intellectuals to their senses. The short-lived jubilation was suddenly transformed to a sense of serious worry. And although the government in reply to the Azeri memorandum expressed felicitations over the sovietization of Azerbaijan, nevertheless, it was gene-

rally felt that dark clouds were gathering over the head of the Armenian Republic, especially in view of the fact that the memorandum was signed by the prominent and responsible Bolshevik Sergo Ordjonikidze.

In its reply the Government of Armenia of course denied that Armenian troops were occupying the territories of Azerbaijan and expressed hope that in the near future cordial relations would be created between the two neighbor nations.

Governmental circles and the leading bodies of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation had come to the conclusion that, to forestall the imminent danger, the only way was to appeal to Moscow and come to an understanding, in order to save the Republic.

Another factor which contributed to the advisability of negotiating with Moscow was the presence in Erivan of Priest Hakop Sarikian, the Armenian Consul in Vladikavkas, Northern Caucasus, who had just made the trip and who made practically the following statement to the Government of Armenia in behalf of Ordjonikidze.

If the Government of Armenia wishes to be recognized by Soviet Russia as an independent republic, it should come out of its present isolation, enter into negotiations with Moscow and conclude a friendly pact.

These twin reasons made it urgent immediately to send a delegation to Moscow and to obtain Soviet Russia's *de jure* recognition of the independence of Armenia, especially since Armenia in those days was founded on the territories of the former Tsarist Russia. The legal heir of those territories was the present Soviet Russia, and therefore, her assent was necessary to the recognition of Armenian independence.

At this point the reader of course will ask why the Armenian governmental and party leaders had not thought about the matter until the sovietization of Azerbaijan, when conditions were far more favorable?

One should not forget the political situation of the time and the resultant general dispositions. The victorious Allies steadfastly refused to recognize the Bolshevik Government as the legal government of Russia, and they regarded it as a temporary rule of usurpers which would be overthrown in a short while.

Besides, in those days, the decimated and deported Armenian people were receiving substantial aid from America, and thanks to that aid thousands of Armenian refugees had been saved, and still were being saved from certain starvation. And lastly, the defence of the Armenian case had been taken over by the great European Powers and President Wilson of the United States. Armenia had been recognized as a *de facto* state and its *de jure* recognition in the impending conference at Sevres, August 10, was only a matter of time. The Sevres Conference envisaged the extension of Armenia over the six provinces of Turkish Armenia, guaranteeing an exit to the Black Sea.¹

These circumstances explain the hesitation which the Government of Armenia showed in opening premature negotiations with Moscow.

On countless occasions the Government of Armenia had appealed to the Great Powers in expectation of some sort of aid, whether economic, political or military. It was no secret that there were no munitions factories in Armenia, while the army was in need of arms and ammunition and warm clothing. In this respect there were many appeals made to the Allies who lulled the Armenians to sleep with false promises and endless procrastinations.

There was also the fear that each untimely approach to Soviet Russia inevitably

¹ Undoubtedly another prominent factor was the fact that, at the time, the regions of southern Russia and northern Caucasus were occupied by Denikin's Government and only recently the Bolsheviks had been able to dislodge the government of the White Russians.

would defeat any future economic or political aid from the Allies. There were of course some political leaders who were of contrary opinion. They thought the minute Armenian negotiators crossed the Caucasian mountain chain, the Allies, the English in particular, would hasten to meet the Armenian demands, lest the Armenians threw themselves into the lap of the Bolsheviks.

One way or another, after the sovietization of Azerbaijan, it was plain to all that negotiating with Moscow was a paramount necessity.

II

The Government of Armenia and the ARF Bureau² decided to send immediately a delegation to Moscow. I do not remember distinctly, I think it was in the afternoon of April 29, when Dr. H. Ohanianian, the Prime Minister of Armenia, called me to the building of the Foreign Ministry and told me that the Government had decided to send a three member delegation to Moscow and had in mind three names: Vahan Papazian (Koms), Levon Zarafian, and myself, all members of the Parliament.

To my question as to what considerations led the Government to stop at the candidacy of the above mentioned three the Prime Minister gave the following reply. Vahan Papazian had been chosen as a suitable representative of Turkish Armenians, and for his experience as a former member of the Ottoman Parliament. Levon Zarafian, as a native of Karabagh and a prominent field worker of the Armenian workers of Baku, would make a more acceptable candidate for the Bolsheviks. I had been chosen because of my knowledge of the Russian language and my familiarity with the Bolshevik psychology and their linguistic jargon, as well as my friendly ties with Ordjonikidze and prominent Armenian Bolsheviks in Moscow.

I had a very high opinion of Vahan Pap-

azian as a veteran party member and one experienced in state affairs, serious-minded, intelligent, a sound reasoner, and pretty well acquainted with the niceties of diplomacy. One of the advantages of his candidacy was the fact that he had been a member of the Ottoman Parliament and had once been elected by the Turkish Armenian faction of the Armenian Republic. In this sense, the Government has selected one of the best qualified candidates. Zarafian, likewise, was not a bad selection, in view of his social origin and his personal ties with the leading Armenian and Tartar Bolsheviks of Baku.

Notwithstanding all these, I don't know why, in my few meetings with Papazian, I had come to the firm conviction that he was inflexible in his convictions and a hard person to negotiate with. Accordingly, I refused to join the delegation, especially since I myself was not completely exempt from these faults, and that, in case of a clash of opinion with Papazian, my joining the delegation would serve no useful purpose.

Although he did not agree with me fully, Ohanianian promised to replace Papazian by another person if I only suggested one more qualified.

After thinking a while I stopped on the name of Levon Chanth, well known in Russia as a writer, beloved by all for his affable and gentle disposition, and his typically European breeding which commanded the respect of all.

The Prime Minister promised me to talk to Levon Chanth and notify me the result. Meanwhile he instructed me to get ready to start the journey the following day. After a few hours I was told that Levon Chanth, after some demurring, had finally agreed to head the delegation.

Before our departure we had a meeting with the members of the Government to receive our final instructions. The Delegation was authorized in behalf of the Armenian Government to conduct negotia-

² The Bureau is the supreme executive body of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation — ED.

tions with the Soviet Government with the aim of concluding a friendship pact. We were instructed to make acceptable to Moscow the following points:

1 — Recognition of the Republic of Armenia, including in her boundaries Mountainous Karabagh.

2 — The acceptance in principle of the annexation of Turkish Armenian provinces to Armenia.

3 — Soviet Russia should not interfere in the internal affairs of Armenia, directly or indirectly.

4 — Armenians then living in Northern Caucasus and Russia should have the right to return to Armenia together with their movable possessions.

5 — Full compensation for Armenian workers' material losses as a result of the imperialistic war.

To communicate with Erivan from Moscow via Tiflis we were given a secret code.

At the end of our meeting I asked the Government to permit Sarkis Aykinian, a compatriot of mine who could be useful to us, to accompany the Delegation in the capacity of unofficial secretary.

III

Our Delegation took off from Erivan on April 30 and on May 1 we arrived at Tiflis. Priest Hakob Sarikian accompanied the Delegation. We stayed at Tiflis for a day or two when we saw Dicran Begzatian, the local Consul of the Armenian Republic, and agreed with him on a form of keeping in touch with him. In Tiflis we were informed that a delegation of the Georgian Government already had arrived in Moscow.

Through the intercession of Begzatian the Compatriotic Union of Karabagh in Tiflis appealed to us that two of their representatives, Aramayis Erzingian and Simonik Piroomian accompany our Delegation, to assist in the matter of Karabagh's annexation to Armenia. We accepted their request thinking we could benefit from their acquaintances and their party ties.

Erzinkian and Piroomian were known Mensheviks who, to be agreeable to the Bolsheviks, had assumed leftish airs and had become pinks. Even in those days they were regarded as "international socialists".

What was strange, in those days some major events had taken place in Armenia — the Bolshevik revolt of May 1 and its consequences — while we in Tiflis knew nothing about it. We learned about this Bolshevik adventure from Chicherin in Moscow.

After a stay of one or two days in Tiflis we departed by train for Vladikavkaz via the military-Georgian line which cuts the Caucasian mountain chain from south to north. At Kazbek, the last Georgian station, the Georgian officer would not let our engineer proceed farther with the absurd argument that the Bolsheviks might seize the train, and consequently, we were obliged to spend the night in Kazbek.

That evening we were joined by Aramayis Erzinkian and Simonik Piroomian who had lagged behind. The next day we hired two carriages and with great difficulty arrived at Vladikavkaz where I had lived three years and where I received my intermediary education at the State Gymnasium. We had great hopes that we would meet here Ordjonikidze and receive from him some letters of recommendation to his comrades in Moscow, but unfortunately, he happened to be in Baku in those days.

The next morning, in behalf of our delegation, I called on Kverkvelia, a Georgian by nationality and President of the Regional Executive Committee, and through him contacted Ordjonikidze in Baku. The latter was truly happy learning about our mission, wished us good luck, and gave us his word of honor that until our negotiations were completed Soviet Azerbaijan would take no hostile step against the Armenian Republic.

I deem it necessary to mention here that I was a close friend of Ordjonikidze in Ros-

tov when he was plenipotentiary extraordinary in southern Russia and I enjoyed his full confidence, if not even more.

In the spring of 1918 when the Bolsheviks occupied Rostov, Ordjonikidze was appointed plenipotentiary extraordinary to southern Russia. At that time I was in Rostov as President of the Armenian Revolutionary Committee in which capacity I cooperated with and supported him. Toward the end of April of the same year when the Cossacks of Don in cooperation with German troops laid siege to Rostov and the Bolsheviks were fighting them for their very lives, I stood by Ordjonikidze to the last moment when all his Jewish and Russian party comrades had deserted him and taken to flight. Thanks to that cooperation, the Armenian Revolutionary Committee succeeded in obtaining seven wagonful loads of ammunition for the Armenian forces which at the time were waging a heroic fight against the Turks in Baku, as well as many similar aids.

Kverkvelia immediately notified Moscow of our delegation and received instructions to send us to Moscow without delay. In a couple of days a special train took us to Rostov, my birthplace. In the absence of trains we were obliged to remain here for one week, but finally, thanks to my personal connections, they put at our disposal a special locomotive with a single second class coach.

The President of the Rostov Regional Executive Committee was Zavarzin, a good acquaintance of mine and a former Social Democrat Menshevik, Jewish by nationality, while my compatriot the Bolshevik Sarkis Loukashian was Secretary. I cannot restrain myself from noting here the prevailing mores of the times which enabled the notorious Menshevik Zavarzin to become a turncoat so easily and to occupy the chair of President of Executive Committee when his intimate party leader comrades Vasiliev, Petrenko, Smirnov and others had been

confined to the Pouterka Prison of Moscow.

Curiously enough, the Bolshevik Ashot Hovhannisian was in New Nakhitchewan at this time, in some capacity. Later, this man accompanied Legran's delegation and became the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia. We could not quite understand why he joined our delegation, whether to assist us in Moscow as a native of Karabagh, or to keep a close eye on us during the journey.

The southern roads of Russia were not so safe. Wrangel's armies, entrenched in the Crimean peninsula, harassed the Bolsheviks at times. The Russo-Polish war, just begun in those days, was another cause of the universal insecurity and tension.

Our train headed for Moscow on the Voronej-Riazan line which was comparatively more safe. After a journey of five days, scarcely at the end of May we arrived in Moscow. Later we learned that Military Commissar Leon Trotsky had made all necessary arrangements by wire to locate the Armenian Delegation and to expedite its arrival at Moscow.

Our coach was abandoned in an obscure station without the locomotive which had been seized by night for military purposes and had been shipped to the Polish front.

Having arrived early in the morning we thought it best that the members of the Delegation stay at the station while I called on Alexander Miasnikian as to our next step. Miasnikian then was the Executive Secretary of the Communist Party of Moscow. At his office I was told that he was on the Polish front at the time as a military commissar and no one knew when he would be back. We regretted his absence very much because we had great hopes in him.

Returning to the station, we telephoned the office of Foreign Affairs and notified them of our arrival, whereupon, two automobiles, one for the personnel, and the other for our luggage, picked us up and took us to the Japanese Embassy building

which had been untouched ever since the severance of relations. The entire lower story of the building was put at our disposal. Erzinkian and Piroomian, the representatives of Karabagh, were settled in the Lazarian Seminary (Jemaran) building, while Ashot Hovhannisian disappeared and we did not see him until our return to Erivan.

IV

The second or third day of our arrival, at midnight, we were invited to the Office of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs where we presented our credentials.

The negotiators for Soviet Russia were Chicherin, Commissar of Foreign Affairs, and his assistant Karakhan, an Armenian by nationality. It seemed strange to us, and for a long time we could not understand why our meetings always took place late in the night. The other thing which struck us as rather strange, instead of the map of Armenia, there were always two Nagan make pistols lying on the table of the Commissariat office. We could not figure out whether it was for self-defence, or to impress our delegation. This peculiar exhibition only provoked our laughter.

Felicitating our arrival, Chicherin reaffirmed to us the Soviet Government's "sincere desire" for the creation of friendly relations with the Government and the people of Armenia. Then he promptly came to the point which briefly was as follows.

The Bolsheviks need the Turks. They have agreed to extend the military and economic aid to drive out of their country the European imperialistic "vultures." The Turks are ready to start operations at once but they are afraid the Government of Armenia, as an ally of the Allied Powers, may strike from the rear. We have invited you here to reconcile you with the Turks and to obtain definite guarantees that the Government of Armenia will not strike our ally the Turk from the rear. Since Russo-Turkish cooperation at this moment is a matter

of life and death for Soviet Russia, it is imperative that the Government of Armenia take a definite stand in this matter.

From this concise statement it was apparent that the Soviet Government simply wanted to play the role of mediator between the Armenians and the Turks, with the idea of generating friendly relations, provided, of course, that the Armenians abandon the Allies and turn the solution of their cause wholly to Moscow, thus ejecting the Armenian case from the agenda of the forthcoming conference of August 10 in Sevres.

There had been no talk of these matters in Erivan and we were not prepared to give definite answers to these pointed questions. We were authorized only "to make acceptable to Moscow the annexation of Turkish Armenian provinces to Armenia." There had been no talk about resigning from the decisions which later would take place at Sevres in regard to the independence of Turkish Armenia and her frontiers, and, under the circumstances of 1920, there could have been no such talk. Besides, we were being asked to offer guarantees that the Government of Armenia would not attack the Turk, the ally of the Bolsheviks.

What kind of guarantees were being referred to? Of course real guarantees, and not paper guarantees.

The question was put to us very plainly and pointedly. We were being asked that the Government of Armenia make its position known toward Soviet Russia and Turkey.

It was more than plain to us that the Turks wanted to make use of the Bolsheviks. The Turkish game was, under the pretext of fighting the European "imperialists", to obtain necessary aid from Soviet Russia, and by pointing out the possible danger of Armenia striking in the rear, to procrastinate the question of expelling the Europeans.

As regards the Armenians, the Turkish

game was, by bringing pressure on the Armenian Government through Russia, to force the Armenians to decline the aid of the victorious Allies and to resign from the Sevres Treaty.

Soviet Russia, too, of course had her own designs in aiding Turkey. She, too, was pursuing political objectives. Through the Turkish threat she thought to force the victorious powers to enter into negotiations with the Soviet and to recognize her as a *de jure* government.

Grasping fully all this, we gave the following answer to Chicherin.

We are sorry that you do not understand the Turks as well as we Armenians do. The Turks are lying to you and they have never given any serious thought to starting military operations against the British and the French. Once they receive from Russia what they need they will pursue a line of least resistance. At the first opportunity they will use the Bolshevik military supplies to attack the Armenians, and then they will drive the Greeks into the sea. After they have achieved their aim they will abandon Russia and will come to an understanding with the Allied Powers. These are the real motives of the Turks in their rapprochement with the Soviet.

As it seemed, our preceding observations hurt the vanity of Chicherin who told us somewhat nervously that they are not so naive as that, and that, one of their objectives in aiding the Turks is to pave the ground for the sovietization of Turkey in the near future.

As to the Armenians, Chicherin continued, we are their friends and we have no intention of sovietizing Armenia.

Asked what would stop the sovietization of Armenia once Turkey was sovietized, Chicherin gave the following answer:

"We are moving to the east and the south with the motto of liberating the small nationalities from the yoke of the imperialists. If we sovietize Armenia today, the Soviet

Government will be discredited in the eyes of small nationalities and will not be able to reach its planned goal. I repeat, we are friends of the Armenian people and even now are ready to act as mediator between you and the Turks if the Government of Armenia officially appeals to us."

We asked Chicherin how could Soviet Russia satisfy the Armenians when the Turks, in pursuance of the "National Covenant", not only will not cede an inch of land from the Armenian provinces, but they even regard the regions of Kars and Ardahan a mute question? Under such circumstances how can we come to an understanding with the Turks when the victorious Powers of Europe already have decided to create an independent Armenian state out of the provinces of Van, Bitlis, Erzerum and Trebizond, with an exit to the Black Sea, in a treaty already have been delivered to the Turkish Government?

Listening attentively to all our objections, Chicherin said:

"All the same, we will try to reconcile you by all means. You Armenians make a big error when you put your whole trust in the European capitalistic powers. Remember the past record of your case. How many times the so-called great powers deceived you! We are sure they will sacrifice your cause to their narrow national interests this time too. The Soviet Government, the government of the workers and the peasants, is the only sincere power which can settle your case. Give up the Allies, take out your case from the agenda of the Sevres Conference, and deliver it to the Soviet Government's arbitration."

After the preceding brief exchange of views it became plain to us that the Government of Armenia and the Soviet were pursuing radically different aims.

As a matter of fact the Armenian Government's aim was to settle the boundary between Armenia and Azerbaijan, to insure the principle of non-intervention in Arme-

nian internal affairs, and to obtain a number of economic and cultural promises. The question of Turkish Armenian provinces was to be decided in Sevres while President Woodrow Wilson of the United States, as arbitrator, would draw the boundaries of the new Armenia.

On the other hand, as was plain, the Soviet Government was not particularly interested in the question of frontiers of the Caucasian republics. It was interested solely in Turkish Armenia. The Soviet wanted to satisfy the Turks through the agreement of the Armenians, otherwise they would form a Turco-Soviet united front to defeat the righteous Armenian cause and to crush the freedom and the independence won by the infinite sacrifice of the Armenian people.

Although we were not authorized to discuss the question of Turkish Armenia in Moscow, to prevent a break up of the negotiations, we were forced to continue the discussion with Chicherin in order to make plain what could be expected from a Soviet mediation.

Incidentally, I should state here that all our discussions were in the form of a conversation and no minutes were taken.

As I stated before, we were obliged to meet Chicherin's propositions at least outwardly and we put special stress on the fact that the Armenians have always been devoted to the Russian people and they are confident now that the Soviet Government will approach the solution of the Armenian case in a fair and unselfish spirit, giving full satisfaction to Armenian just demands.

While assuring us that the Soviet Government will be an impartial arbitrator, Chicherin observed that the Armenian claim to Erzeroum, in particular, he found unjustifiable.

We countered that Erzeroum, as well as the other Armenian-populated provinces, historically have always belonged to the Armenians, eloquent proof of which are the

countless monuments of Armenian culture.

Chicherin at once interrupted us in order to prove his acquaintance with the history of ancient Armenians. "Your monuments," he said, "belong to the period of Tigranes the Great. What matters now is that today there are no Armenians in those provinces."

Although we had expected this, I took advantage of the occasion to point out the contradiction in Chicherin's expressed views.

"We are greatly surprised at your last argument," I said with emotion. "We always knew that bourgeois capitalistic governments easily reconciled themselves with accomplished facts and their diplomacy has always been founded on realism; but we never thought that the workers and peasants' government would so easily adopt the policy of bourgeois governments, thus wishing to sanctify the brutal mass deportations and the massacres as a means of settling intra-national disputes. The Armenian people was convinced that the great and brotherly Russian people, whose representative you now are, would be more stern toward the authors of the massacres and would not use the numerical diminution of Turkish Armenia as an argument in favor of the Turks. There are expatriated Armenian communities in the United States, in Europe and in the Arabic countries and elsewhere which are enough to repopulate their ancestral lands and to rehabilitate their ruined homes."

Realizing his boner, Chicherin changed the line of his argument, but basically it was the same.

V

Chicherin's revised line of argumentation was the following:

The workers-peasants government cannot be led by historical or purely ethnological considerations; it is led solely by the principle of "the soil belongs to the worker." Therefore, it is logical that, when the time comes to consider all land claims, the numerical size of the workingmen who cultivate

the soil will be taken into consideration.

Since I had no chance immediately to consult with the other two members of our Delegation, in behalf of the Delegation, and without obtaining the consent of my two colleagues, I accepted the principle of "the soil belongs to the worker" as a basis for the solution of the Turkish Armenian provinces.

First of all, I said, our Delegation cannot repel the principle of the soil belonging to the worker since this equally is the principle of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation; and secondly, when this principle is applied it will be found that the share of the land due to the Armenians will not be less than the six provinces when we consider the total number of the Armenians.

Here our first interview came to an end. They gave our Delegation one week's time in which to prepare a memorandum based on statistics, proving our claim to the six provinces, to be presented to the Soviet Government.

Throughout the entire discussion Karakhan, assistant to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, was attentively listening to the conversation. From the expression on his face and in his eyes it was apparent that he was eminently pleased with our conversation and the conclusion we reached.

Levon Chanth, the elder member of our Delegation, however, was not pleased with the agreement, he was especially displeased with me. He was disturbed that we had deviated from the subject uselessly, that the question of Turkish Armenian provinces was within the jurisdiction of the Peace Conference and that our Delegation was not authorized to discuss the matter.

I gave my two colleagues a detailed explanation for my unilateral behavior. I told them that I intended to prove by statistics the justice of our cause, as well as from the view point of the soil belonging to the worker. As members of a socialist party we could not very well argue against

the latter principle. Secondly, I was convinced that the Turks would never accept the above-mentioned principle as a basis for Russian arbitration. Lastly, I was convinced that the Turks would never accept the mediation of Soviet Russia.

As to our Delegation, I explained, we, too, expected no positive result from Soviet mediation and we could always fall back on the stock argument that we were not authorized to discuss the matter. This was a sort of tactical maneuver on our part in order to put the responsibility on the Turks in the future should the mediation fail.

Fortunately, my colleagues were satisfied with this explanation and we at once set to work on the preparation of the requested memorandum.

According to the statistics of our report, the Armenian workingmen would be entitled not only to the six provinces but to twice that number. However, our Delegation would be magnanimous enough not to insist on its full claim and would forego the extra lands which rightfully belonged to the Armenian workers.

This put an end to Chicherin's proposition of finding the solution of the Armenian question in the principle of the soil belonging to the workers and Chicherin never again officially referred to the statistical evidence of our report.

In the course of subsequent conversations it became plain that our report had had its effect. Unfortunately, the text of that historic document is not at my disposal at present but is kept in Erivan.

I deem it necessary to mention here that, at the time our Delegation was working on its report, a delegation of the Turkish National Grand Assembly, headed by Bekir Sami, was in Moscow, negotiating with the Soviet Government.

Levon Zarafian and I suggested to Levon Chanth to have some special interviews with the Turkish Delegation with a view to coming to a friendly understanding with

them, and in case we failed, at least we would have an opportunity to become acquainted with their general dispositions. We were of the opinion that the Turks would be pleased if we could settle our mutual disputes without the mediation of Soviet Russia. The Turks had more reason to suspect the sincerity of the Russian Government than we Armenians.

Although our proposition could in no wise injure our cause, Levon Chanth vigorously opposed the idea, objecting that we were not authorized to negotiate with the Turks, and secondly, he positively would not sit side by side with the murderers of our nation.

We tried to persuade him that there was no question of authorization here, but merely a matter of feeling around, and if need be, we could obtain the necessary authorization from the Government of Armenia. As to his second objection, we pointed out that, in the field of diplomacy, sentiment has no room, but only cold logic and the interests of our people.

Unfortunately, we could not budge Levon Chanth, and we deemed it unwise to contact the Turkish Delegation without his knowledge, and consequently, we desisted from our intention.

The beginning of June Alexander Miasnikian returned from the Polish front and contacted our Delegation by telephone. He expressed his gratification over our Delegation's arrival in Moscow and was particularly happy that he would have an opportunity to meet our talented writer and author of "Ancient Gods" Levon Chanth.

On my part, I expressed joy that after a separation of four years I would finally have a chance to meet again my old and sincere comrade Alexan.

Naturally, we all wanted to have a meeting with Miasnikian at the earliest moment to find out to what extent he could be useful to us in our conversations with Chicherin. A number of times we reminded him

on the telephone that we were waiting for him impatiently, and each time he justified his delay by various excuses and promises that he surely would see us. After many procrastinations, we finally were convinced that my old friend, the Bolshevik Executive Secretary of the Communist Party of Moscow, was evading a meeting in our apartments since the place was under close surveillance of the Cheka.

To relieve the Executive Secretary of his predicament, I expressed my willingness to call on him personally at his place. Highly pleased with my suggestion he invited me to dinner the following day.

At the appointed hour we met in his large and lavishly furnished apartment which was occupied by only three, himself, his wife and his sister. At sight of such magnificence and luxury, as well as the rich table, I expressed surprise and asked him if this was the equality which had been promised to the workers and the peasants. Without batting an eye my old friend replied that responsible leaders must live well in order to work well.

He, in turn, was interested in life in Armenia. I told him that the ministers of our Republic live in obscure apartments of scarcely two or three rooms, while the members of the Parliament are lucky if they can find a single room, and yet, without any complaints, they all are dedicated to the reconstruction of the newly-created Armenian state.

After an exchange of these brief social repartees we came to the point, namely, our conversations with Chicherin. After listening to me attentively, Miasnikian asked how he could be helpful to us. Half in jest and half seriously I said to him:

"Dear Alexan, if you were Lenin, our Delegation would draft the text of the treaty between the two countries exactly as they pleased and would ask you to sign it without reading. But, unfortunately, you are not Lenin, and yet, you can be of im-

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mense service to our Delegation. As an authority on Armenian and Bolshevik life, they may call on you for certain information, particularly in regard to our statistical report on Turkish Armenia which they will want you to check. In such a case I would beg you to confirm the authenticity of our report and transmit it where it is due, that eighty percent of the population of Zangezur and Mountainous Karabagh is Armenian."

Alexander Miasnikian considered this as a trivial service and expressed willingness to do even more than what we expected of him. Unfortunately, we later had never an opportunity to ascertain precisely what service he rendered to the course of our negotiations. After a brief interval he again left for the Polish front and I never had another chance to meet him the second time until the departure of our Delegation from Moscow.

VI

Approximately one week after the presentation of our report on Turkish Armenia, about the middle of June, we were invited to another meeting which, this time, proved more fruitful. We accepted the Soviet proposal of acting as mediator between the Government of Armenia and Mustafa Kemal. In behalf of Soviet Russia Chicherin promised to satisfy the Armenians by annexing to Armenia certain territories of Turkish Armenia and securing for her an exit to the Black Sea.

The question of our boundary with Azerbaijan, likewise, was settled approximately in the following manner. Zangezur and the region of Nakhitchevan would be declared outright as Armenian territories while Karabagh would be regarded as disputed territory, its legal status to be decided in a future referendum.

Besides, the Soviets met a series of important proposals pertaining to economic and cultural matters put by our Delegation. All literature pertaining to Armenian cul-

ture centralized in Moscow and other cities of Russia would be turned over to Armenia, Armenian immigrants, and generally speaking, all Armenians living in Russia, would be permitted to return to Armenia with their movable property. With a view to rebuilding the country's shattered system of transportation, Armenia would receive gratis about ten locomotives, as well as a sufficient quality of fuel oil at cost price. The Soviet Union also volunteered to donate to Armenia two textile mills with complete equipment. Besides, as an aid to the Armenian people, the Soviet would pay the Government of Armenia a sum of 21½ million gold rubles to be used for the purchase of agricultural implements, seed grain, etc.

Chicherin promised to put into writing this oral agreement in short order and to present the text of the Russo-Armenian treaty for our signature in a day or two.

We at once transmitted the agreement to Erivan and started to get ready for our departure.

Two or three days passed and yet the signing of the treaty was being postponed, for reasons unknown to us. It was plain that the agreement had encountered unexpected and unpleasant obstacles behind the thick curtains.

After the abortive attempt of May to Sovietize Armenia, Armenian Bolsheviks who had taken refuge in Baku, Mikoyan, Avis, Kassian and others were trying to defeat the Russo-Armenian negotiations in Moscow, and this time, really to sovietize Armenia with the aid of the Bolsheviks and the Turks. Soviet Azerbaijan, on the other hand, taking advantage of the presence of Bolshevik troops, was trying to realize the Mussavatist plan, not only by occupying Karabagh, but Zanezour and Nakhitchevan as well.

Even Chicherin, the rabid Russian Bolshevik, when he was informed of the above-mentioned Azeri demands, was irritated,

and exclaimed in our presence, "Oho, they want Chulfa and Nakhitchevan! These fellows have grown too big for their breeches."

It was plain that the Soviet Government in those days was not so inclined to meet all the demands of the Armenian and Tartar Bolsheviks of Baku, but rather wanted to act as mediator in the Armeno-Tartar dispute. Just the same, the Soviet deviated from its original decision as a result of the false reports and the stubborn insistence of Baku Bolsheviks. Toward the end of June our Delegation was presented with another proposal according to which Karabagh finally would go to Azerbaijan, Nakhitchevan to Armenia, while Zangezour would be disputed territory, its final fate to be decided later when Legran, the Soviet plenipotentiary emissary to Armenia, would acquaint himself on the spot in regard to the ethnology of the population of Zangezour and the aspirations of the local people.

In the same meeting they presented to us an oral memorandum regarding the stern measures the Government of Armenia had taken toward the Bolsheviks in connection with the May uprising. Chicherin told us substantially the following:

According to information received from the Soviet Government of Baku, the Government of Armenia, in connection with the May revolt, has started a vigorous persecution of the Bolsheviks. We were told that, to date, several thousands have been executed and tens of thousands arrested. If the Government of Armenia does not put an immediate stop to these persecutions, the Soviet Government will be obliged to call a halt to the current negotiations.

At this time our Delegation had not even heard of those fateful events in Armenia, and it was from Chicherin that we learned of them for the first time. In the name of the Delegation we gave the following reply to Chicherin:

We have heard nothing from our Gov-

ernment in regard to these events in Armenia. However, we regret to have to assure you that your information is far from the truth. How can the Government of Armenia massacre thousands of Bolsheviks when in the whole of Armenia you can scarcely find a few scores of Bolsheviks all told, and that, if you looked for them with a lantern in daytime? We are pained beyond measure that some evil-minded people are trying to disrupt our friendly relations through such inaccurate information. Nevertheless, our Delegation will at once transmit your observation to the Government of Armenia.

With this, our interview came to an end and we hastened to our quarters to transmit the result of our last interview to our government.

On the one hand, the members of the Delegation were thrilled that our Government had crushed the treacherous Bolshevik adventure with a firm hand, and that, even then it had the situation under complete control. But on the other hand, we were worried over the bad turn in the attitude of Bolshevik leaders in Moscow which till then had been extraordinarily friendly.

In regard to Chicherin's memorandum we wired Erivan to following effect:

"In Moscow the only thing which counts is real power. The more you exhibit real power and decision, the more they will respect us here. Don't worry about us. Be firm and ruthless toward the traitors of the fatherland."

The next day of our meeting with Chicherin, early in the morning, a person very close to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs called upon us and, in the name of Karakhan, assured us that Chicherin's stern observation of the preceding night was a mere formality, and that, we should not worry over that memorandum in particular. This assurance, coming from Karakhan, further bolstered up our conviction

that in Moscow the only thing which counts is real power.

We now had to take a definite stand toward Chicherin's proposal in regard to the cession of Karabagh to Azerbaijan and the status of Zangezour as disputed territory.

Unfortunately, the three members of our Delegation were not unanimous on this question. Levon Zarafian and I were in favor of accepting Chicherin's proposal at once and to sign the treaty. This would first have assured the Soviet's official recognition of the independence of Armenia, and secondly, the ancient Armenian province of Nakhitchewan would become an indisputable part of Armenia. As to the status of Zangezour, we regarded its disputability as a mere formality and only temporary, since its final settlement would depend upon the will of the people. With regard to Karabagh, while we considered the Soviet's proposal as unjust, nevertheless we wanted to acquiesce to it for the time being, firmly convinced that the rebellious-spirited and freedom-loving Armenians of that region would sooner or later join the fatherland, the Republic of Armenia.

Although he did not object to the spirit, nevertheless Levon Chanth opposed the proposal on purely technical grounds. He argued that our Delegation was not authorized to surrender Karabagh, but on the contrary, it had a duty to insist upon its annexation to Armenia. Therefore, he suggested that we first obtain our Government's consent.

While we accepted the justice of Chanth's observation on purely technical grounds, nevertheless, Zarafian and I were opposed to appealing to Erivan, fearing that, in case the matter dragged on, we would lose such a golden opportunity, and that, the Soviet Government, due to new internal and external developments, might change its mind and offer us proposals which were far more inacceptable. We point-

ed out to Chanth that each delegation which negotiates must have a certain freedom of action and must have a certain degree of flexibility to adjust itself to newly-rising conditions. Finally, we told him, at the time of defining our powers, our Government could not have foreseen all the details of the conversations and the newly-developed situation as a result of political changes.

Despite these logical arguments, we failed to persuade Chanth to sign the Armeno-Russian friendship treaty at once. We were obliged to send a code letter to Erivan toward the end of June, asking our Government's consent to sign the treaty with the abovementioned conditions. Unfortunately, the reply came too late, almost a month later, when Chicherin already had notified us that the negotiations were now interrupted and that they would be resumed in Erivan.

We never knew why the reply to our appeal came so late. Could it be that our Government purposely delayed its answer, or the Soviet Government deliberately delayed its delivery?

Whatever the cause of the delay, at that time (the month of July), some major events were transpiring in our country which had a fateful effect on the future independence of the Armenian Republic.

VII

A few days after our appeal to Erivan we received a call from Dr. Mebouroutian, Armenian by nationality, and an employee of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, who told us that Karakhan desired a private meeting with H. Terterian, one of the members of the Delegation.

With the consent of my colleagues, the next day at the appointed hour, at 11 o'clock in the night, I had a meeting with Karakhan.

To tell the truth, I never understood the real purpose of this private interview. The Delegation thought Karakhan would make

some unofficial proposals by way of feeling around, and yet, during the entire interview he did not make a single proposal and our conversation was general.

First, he was interested in the internal life in Armenia which I explained in detail. Naturally, the conversation veered toward those elements in Armenia who, taking advantage of the Government's tolerance and protection, were plotting to undermine the newly-created state, and by artificial methods were trying to promote civil war among the workers and the peasants, in an effort to subject the Armenian people to a wholly alien regime.

When the conversation turned to the May revolt, I told Karakhan that you cannot govern a country with kid gloves, that the Government of Armenia was duty-bound to take stern measures against subversive elements, and in case of necessity, apply the death penalty. As a rule, our Government should deal with the opposition in the same manner which the Soviet employs against its ideological enemies. I asked him where were now the leftist Socialist-Revolutionaries, Kamkov, Spiridonova and the others, who fought to insure the Soviet victory? Why had they jailed all the socialists for no reason at all except that they do not silently accept their viewpoint, and did not fully agree with them in their internal and external policies?

Karakhan listened to me with a mild smile, without offering any serious objection. He asked about his university mates in Moscow, Koryoun Ghazazian and other, and generally about life in Tiflis. I thought, after these preliminary talks, Karakhan would come to the real point, but despite my expectations, he begged to be excused for a moment and was off, leaving me alone in the office. These few moments seemed like hours to me, and I won't be mistaken if I say that he was absent for a full hour. The presumption was that he had gone to consult some one, or join in a consultative

meeting, on the result of which depended his future conversation with me.

After his return he did not make any kind of proposal, but, judging from subsequent events, it could easily be supposed that they intended to feel the Delegation's dispositions in regard to the question of resigning from the claim of the Turkish Armenian provinces.

In this connection, I deem it necessary to describe briefly here an incident which took place during Karakhan's absence. After he retired I was seated near the desk, without moving, or looking to either side. But this did not last long. When he delayed his return I became restless, and unable longer to stand the immobility, I rose up and started to pace the length of the large hall.

At first I did not dare look to right or left. I was sure my each step and movements were being watched closely. But this aimless pacing, too, was tiresome and did not last long. I began to show signs of impatience, looking to right and left, to see where I was and what was around me.

I saw nothing around me particularly striking except a large table located at a corner of the room, covered with a white paper. I don't know why this innocent-looking simple table attracted my attention. I was burning with curiosity to see what lay under the white cover.

It would be a daring act on my part, indeed, to make an exploration inside the office of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of a foreign country, especially when, as I said before, without doubt I was being closely watched. Realizing all this, nevertheless, each time I approached that magic table, an inner force urged me closer, and I could scarcely control myself from trespassing. To make it short, my curiosity finally got the best of me, and laying all caution aside, I approached the table with swift firm steps and jerked off the white paper. Before my eyes was unfolded a

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large-sized map of the three Transcaucasian Republics, with colored demarcation of frontiers.

At first glance I noticed that the Republic of Armenia was the largest of all, practically embracing the whole of the Apsheronian Peninsula. I started to trace from the banks of the Arax River to the north, to take in the whole details of the boundaries. Included in the boundaries of Armenia were the whole of Mountainous Karabagh as far as Yevlakh, and from there, via the Kour River, as far as the Khram River, then, in Borchalu, from the source of Khram, the boundary extended itself to include the region of Akhalkalak and Akhalktsha, and from the latter's heights, in a straight line, to the Black Sea between Batum and Poti, the Port of Batum with the entire surrounding region as part of Armenia. The disputable region of Zakatala was annexed to Georgia.

Captivated by the map, and to fix the demarcation deeply in my memory, once again I started to trace the line from the Arax River to the north. I had scarcely reached to confluence of Kour and Khram Rivers when I heard a sound from behind. I turned around and there stood before me Karakhan, a smile on his face, while I, like a pupil caught in a misdemeanor, staggered for a moment and the white paper automatically slipped from my hand and fell on the map.

"Well, how do you like it? Would you like an Armenia like that?" Karakhan asked me.

After I recovered my poise, I instantly replied: "We are not such imperialists as you suppose."

After this brief repartee, we approached the desk and our conversation continued to following effect. I was curious to know what this map was and who prepared it. He promptly replied that the Soviet Government had asked the military staff to draw up a map of the three Transcaucasian Re-

publics, bearing in mind the ethnological, strategic and economic conditions of each country. The Staff had prepared this map having in mind primarily the possibilities of economic development of each country.

It was plain that, in drawing up this map, prime consideration was given to a series of important political factors. As I mentioned before, the Soviet Government was primarily concerned with the swift solution of the Armeno-Turkish problem. Instead of Trebizond, Armenia would have the Port of Batum which was much larger, and endowed with better facilities than the Port of Trebizond.

Karakhan asked me the second time if an Armenia with such boundaries would be acceptable to the Government of Armenia, provided we gave up the Turkish Armenian Vilayets.

Before giving a full answer to the question, I observed that, if the Port of Batum is given to Armenia it will create a bone of contention between two neighbor nations (the Georgians and the Armenians), which will provoke the eternal enmity of the two peoples.

Then I reminded him that scarcely 15 days have passed since the signing of the Russo-Georgian treaty, the ink of which is not yet dry. By this treaty Batum was given to Georgia, and in this connection, great popular demonstrations and celebrations are taking place today in the capital of Georgia. Under the circumstances, how can Batum be delivered to Armenia?

In answer to my observation, Karakhan coolly replied: "That's nonsense."

"Very well," I retorted, "if an act of yours of yesterday becomes nonsense today, what guarantee is there that tomorrow you will not pronounce your act of today as nonsense?"

Karakhan smiled and quickly assured me that this decision was serious and final.

After this agreeable repartee I turned to the real question.

"The Armenia, as drawn by the Soviet Government," I said, "is quite satisfactory at the moment, commensurate with the capabilities and the real power of the newly-created Government of Armenia. For me, and for those who think like me, it is quite acceptable, and I can assure you that my personal view is shared by the present Government of Armenia. However, that is not enough to consider your proposal as acceptable. We must take into account the psychological state of mind of the Armenian people. Our people has struggled for scores of years for an independent Armenia and this dream has always been centered on the Turkish Armenian provinces. Besides, there are approximately a half million Turkish Armenians within the boundaries of Armenia who are eagerly waiting for the day when they shall reoccupy their ancestral lands — Basen, Van, Moush, Sassoun. How can we go against the just claims of this multitude, when the remains of their loved ones are resting in those lands which for centuries has been called Armenia? Too, there are a large number of Turkish Armenians in the dispersion who have a special Delegation in Paris, headed by Boghos Nubar Pasha. They don't consider the present Armenia as Armenia proper but call it the Republic of Erivan. Under these circumstances, how can the Government of Armenia persuade the National Delegation of Paris to give up Sevres and the Turkish Armenian provinces which have a history of forty years? Besides, the victorious Allies have accepted the principle of creating an independent Armenia of those provinces whose final boundaries shall be drawn by the arbitration of President Woodrow Wilson. Lastly, the act of Turkish Armenia's independence shall be signed on August 10 in Sevres, both by the Allied Powers and Turkey. Pray, tell me, under the circumstances, is it psychologically possible that our people give up the realization of their centuries-old dream, give up Sevres, and

be satisfied with only a Russian Armenia?"

In conclusion, I said to him, "Personally, I don't believe the Allied Powers will take Turkish Armenia by armed force and will deliver it to the Armenians on a silver platter. I don't even believe that present Armenia is in a position to occupy these provinces, and keep them of its own power resources. All the same, we cannot give up our centuries-old just rights."

Karakhan, who had listened to me attentively, raised no objection to my remarks. As far as I remember, this brought to an end our day's conversation.

I hastened to our quarters to give my colleagues a full report of what I had seen and heard. My colleagues fully agreed with my views and the explanations I had offered.

VIII

I had one more private meeting with Karakhan. I had gone to see him to obtain a visa for my wife to go from Moscow to Rostov. He was curious to know if our Delegation was receiving Soviet papers regularly. I told him we received many papers and thanked him. He again was curious if we were pleased with the general content of these papers. Before giving an answer I asked him if I should simulate or tell the straight truth. With his customary smile, Karakhan told me to give my honest opinion.

Taking advantage of his permission, I told him candidly that it was with great difficulty, and with great mental suffering that I fingered daily scarcely 5-6 newspapers, the content of which was practically the same, and the ideas and the opinions expressed in them followed an identical pattern. "I am surprised at you," I said to him, "why do you order death penalties and use bullets to execute these penalties, when all you have to do to punish your counter-revolutionaries is to make the reading of Bolshevik newspapers compulsory to all. If you do this, you may rest assured that in

a short while all your readers will go mad and you will be rid of your enemies."

Karakhan chuckled heartily at my sincere observation, then, in a low voice, told me that the Soviet receives all the newspapers of the world in all languages. To my question if they received Armenian newspapers he promptly replied they did. They received all our party papers, however, they kept it from the public. He promised to send us the newspapers we wanted, provided we did not show it to others. I gave him my word of honor that his request would be respected, then asked him to send me the latest issues of the newspapers of Erivan and Tiflis, both Russian and Armenian.

The Director of Information Bureau of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs sent me a large bundle of the requested papers, and I, like a man who had just been released from prison, rushed to our quarters to give my colleagues a very pleasant surprise.

"Congratulations!" I exclaimed, as I entered inside, and dumped the bundle of papers on the table. My colleagues were beside themselves with joy. We pored over the papers and for the first time we learned that a cargo of supplies, designed for the Republic of Armenia, had just arrived at Batum from Istanbul (we supposed it was the munitions supply which for a long time we had been expecting from England). We also learned that the Armenian forces after occupying Beyouk-Vedi and Gaily Drounk had entered Sharoor and were knocking at the gates of Nakhitchevan, and that it was a matter of days when our troops would occupy Nakhitchevan and Djoulfa.

While the Delegation was waiting for our Government's answer, together with my colleague Zarafian I paid a visit to Hairik Yeghiazarian who lived at the Lazarian Jemaran and who at the time was host to Erzinkian and Piroomian, emissaries from the Compatriotic Union of Karabagh.

The emissaries from Karabagh were not

at home and Hairik was alone. After the exchange of customary greetings, he asked, "Did Erzinkian and Piroomian have any money with them when they came to Moscow?"

We replied that not only they did not have a cent with them, but we even had to pay their fare.

Hairik cast a cautious look around then whispered to us that he had seen a bundle of five million rubles in Soviet currency under the pillow of Erzinkian. It was plain to us that the Soviet Government had extended these "defenders of the interests of Karabagh Armenians" a credit of five million rubles, for purposes unknown to us. Later we learned that, after their return from Moscow, these men were using these funds to publish in Tiflis a Russian language newspaper, an opposition organ against the Georgian Government. How, when, and under what instructions these "negotiators for Karabagh" had returned to the Caucasus, we never learned, since they had left Moscow without seeing us or bidding us good bye.

IX

Erivan's answer to our code letter still was delayed and the suspense of waiting was very depressing to us. We had a premonition that some dark operations were on foot in our ignorance. We were obliged to make a second appeal to Erivan for a quick answer. At the telegraph office we accidentally learned from a reliable source that Baku had sent an appeal to the Military Staff to send the 11th Red Army via Zangezour to the aid of the Turks of Nakhitchevan, whose life and property, presumably, were being threatened by the Armenian Republic's regular and irregular units.

With heavy hearts Zarafian and I returned home to consult with Chanth. It was plain to us that, the Turks and the Tartars who called themselves Bolsheviks on the one hand, and the Armenian Bolsheviks who had escaped from Armenia on the

other, had misled the Soviet Government with their false information, and with the aid of the Red army were trying to execute the plans of the Sultanovs and the Kemalists, namely, to usurp the indisputable Armenian territories of Zangezour and Nakhitchevan and then annex them to Kemalist Turkey.

We were deeply grieved that the prominent leaders of the Russian Revolution — Lenin, Trotsky, Chicherin, Zinoviev, Stalin and others had so easily been duped by these spurious Bolsheviks, the Huseynovs, the Narimanovs, the Sultanovs and the Khalil Pasha's, and had fallen victim of the anti-Soviet policy of the bourgeois landlord Mussavatists, thus abandoning the Armenian people and sacrificing their interests.

I wired Erivan to this effect immediately, warning them to take precautionary measures.

The beginning of July again we were invited to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs where Chicherin, in the presence of Karakhan, notified us that the Soviet Government has seen fit to transfer the negotiations to Erivan and that the Government of Armenia has been advised to this effect.

Legran had been appointed official representative of the Soviet Government, vested with full powers to carry on the negotiations in Erivan, and authorized to settle the question of Zangezour after he had made a study of the situation on the spot and acquainted himself with the aspirations of the native population. As to Karabagh and Nakhitchevan, the Soviet's stand was the same which had been communicated to us — Nakhitchevan would go to Armenia, and Karabagh to Azerbaijan.

"It would be desirable," Chicherin added, "that your Delegation had a meeting with Legran before his departure from Moscow."

After hearing all this, there was nothing left for us to do except to agree to the proposal and to await our Government's instructions to return to Armenia.

We naturally were highly displeased with the transfer of the conversations to Erivan. The draft of the agreement had long since been ready and the treaty would be signed the minute our Government gave its assent. On the other hand, the transfer of the negotiations to Erivan would certainly drag out the signing of the agreement and even perhaps jeopardize its ratification, because the future was dark and pregnant with countless surprises.

What gave us special anxiety was the order to the 11th Red Army to occupy Zangezour and Nakhitchevan. We knew well what it meant for a place to be occupied by the Bolshevik under the pretext of "temporary occupation." Whom and what forces would the Red Army expel from the regions of Zangezour and Nakhitchevan?

In this depressing mood we naturally blamed our Government which, for reasons unknown to us, had delayed its reply to our appeal.

The meeting with Legran, proposed by Chicherin, was delegated to Zarafian and me. Our meeting took place about the middle of July in the hotel where he lived. Legran was accompanied by Sahak Ter Gabrielian, a native of Karabagh and a well known Bolshevik who was also a member of Legran's delegation.

Legran told us that his delegation would leave in a few days for Baku, and from there to Erivan via Tiflis, to resume the conversations which had been interrupted in Moscow. At the same time he assured us that the Soviet Government cherishes most friendly sentiments toward the Armenian Republic. "In keeping with Comrade Chicherin's proposal, which is also our Government's decision," he said, "Nakhitchevan will be annexed to Armenia, and Karabagh to Azerbaijan. As to the status of Zange-

your which at present is debatable territory, that is but a mere formality, and I can assure you that it shall be recognized as an indisputable part of Armenia."

The same assurances were also given by Sahak Ter Gabrielian.

Although we attached no value to these assurances, since we knew the Red Army did not easily vacate a place which was once occupied, nevertheless there was nothing we could do about it. All we could do was to return to Erivan as soon as possible and make our report to our Government.

However, our Delegation did not feel authorized to return without Erivan's permission, and therefore, we immediately applied for the needed permission. Before the answer came, toward the end of July Legran and his delegation already had left Moscow. But we were obliged to stay behind until the first of August, practically idle, and with occasional calls on the Armenian community of Moscow.

After a long waiting, the beginning of August, finally we received two telegrams from our Government. The first had been delayed too long. With it, our Government instructed us in no uncertain tones not only to insist on the annexation of Mountainous Karabagh but also to include the annexation of lower Karabagh.

We were greatly surprised by our Government's novel instruction since till then we had said nothing about Lower Karabagh, and now, suddenly we had a new issue on our hands. We made a thousand and one guesses and finally came to the conclusion that the victorious Allies must have given us definite assurances as regards the Bolsheviks and our Government, feeling strong, disdained the advance of the Red Army on Nakhitcheva via Zangezour, and by raising the issue of Lower Karabagh, it wanted to drag out the conversations with Moscow.

Under the circumstances, our Delegation

thought best not to make an issue of our Government's new proposal.

The second telegram announced the news of a brutal murder at the hands of the Bolsheviks. In Goris the Bolsheviks had brutally done to death two of our comrades, V. Khoren and Arshavir Shirinian, both members of the Armenian Parliament. We were instructed to make a vigorous protest to the Soviet government.

The murder of our innocent comrades filled us with great sorrow and resentment. The very same day we asked for an interview with Chicherin and presented our protest both in regard to the murder and the seizure of Zangezour. We expressed shock and regret that the Soviet Government had launched military operations against the Armenian Republic when the Russo-Armenian negotiations were not yet ended but at their own proposal had been transferred to Erivan.

"How do you explain that the Soviet Government is trying to seize by force those very regions — Zangezour and Nakhitchevan — which you yourselves have acknowledged as undisputed Armenian territories?" we asked Chicherin. "Is it possible that Soviet Russia is at war with the Republic of Armenia without a declaration of war?"

Chicherin assured us that there will be no clash of arms between the two sides because, in his opinion, the Armenian soldier will not fight against the Russian soldier.

"The Armenian soldier who for years has fought the Turk side by side with his Russian comrade," I observed, "naturally sees in the Russian soldier his own kinsman, and conversely, the Russian soldier looks upon the Armenian soldier as a comrade who will never betray him, as was proved on countless occasions during the world war. Unfortunately, however, Comrade Chicherin does not take into account the great psychological change which has come about in the Armenian soldier, and generally

speaking, in the Armenian people as a result of the declaration of Armenia's independence. The Armenian people and the brave Armenian soldier, the offspring of that people, are so deeply attached to their newly-liberated Fatherland at the cost of countless lives that, for the preservation of that independence, they will resolutely fight not only against the Russian soldier but even against their own brothers. The will of the Armenian people to be free and independent has now become a part of its flesh and blood and such resolution cannot be shaken by any kind of power."

Chicherin seemed very depressed and thoughtful. He listened to me throughout with bowed head. Finally he expressed regret over the murder of our two comrades and apologized that his Government knew nothing about it. As to the occupation of Zangezour by the 11th army, he explained, that was a direct consequence to the appeal of the Azerbaijan Government for the safety of the Turkish and Tartar population of Nakhitchevan. The occupation was merely temporary, pending the final settlement of the Armeno-Azeri frontiers. To this end the Soviet plenipotentiary Legran had full instructions from the Soviet Government.

These explanations and assurances were wholly unsatisfactory to us and yet there was nothing we could do about it. Heavily depressed, we returned to our quarters to prepare for our departure from Moscow.

It took a couple of days to obtain our visas and tickets, and similar arrangements. It was not until August 10 that we left Moscow. This time we arrived at Rostov in one day.

In Rostov we learned from the Bolshevik S. Loukashin that on August 10, (the day

of the signing of the Sevres Treaty), an agreement had been signed in Tiflis between the representatives of the Armenian Government, A. Djamalian and A. Babalian, and the Soviet representative Legran, whereby the Russian army would occupy the regions of Karabagh, Zangezour and Nakhitchevan, and part of the Province of Kazakh.

This unexpected news verily stunned us and we could not understand how the Armenian Government, which only one month before had rejected far better terms which we had obtained in Moscow, and had even insisted on its claim to Lower Karabagh, could have agreed to such a shameful treaty on August 10.

It became plain to us that our Government, emboldened by its military success in suppressing the May Bolshevik uprising, had underestimated the presence of the Red Army in Baku and Karabagh, and after a series of military reverses, had been forced to sign the Tiflis agreement of August 10.

Although displeased with the interruption of the negotiations, our Delegation still hoped to prevail upon the Government in Erivan to be more condescending and to come to some sort of agreement with the Soviet which would be mutually acceptable. The agreement of August 10 inspired no such hope. We could not reconcile ourselves with the thought that the divisions of the Red Army could easily evacuate the regions of Nakhitchevan and Zangezour once they were entrenched there.

In this mood our Delegation returned to Erivan, to resume the broken negotiations in the capital of Armenia.

(To be continued)

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH – ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

REV. TORKOM POSTAJIAN

It is said that, to penetrate the secret of a nation's vitality, one must study its religion. Expanding this postulate, we might say, even the civilization and the culture of a nation begin with its religious beliefs. The certainty of this view is further confirmed when we consider, for instance, the ancient centers of civilization – Greece, Rome, Egypt, Mesopotamia etc.

To know the essence of the Armenian church in its soul, the stages of its origin and development, its substance and its theology is but to know the soul of the Armenian people. The ancestors of the Armenians recognized this truth well when they engraved in front of one of their temples the significant inscription, "Know thyself," as if trying to say, if we want to know ourselves well we must know well our religion.

At the very outset, it will be asked, from earliest times, have the Armenians founded a unique religion of their own, expressive of the nation's true character? To answer this question, it must be stated that all ancient religions and all mythologies have been influenced by each other to a certain extent. A comprehensive study of religion will reveal similarities in all faiths which proves the basic identity of all nations in their common belief in the Supreme Being.

Thus, the Anahit of Armenian mythology has its counterpart in the Greek Diana, the

Armenian Astghik, the Goddess of Love, is the Greek Aphrodite, the Armenian Vahagn is the Greek Heracles, and the Armenian Aramazd is the Persian Zoroastrian Ahura Mazda. However, despite these similarities, the unique character of Armenian mythology, expressive of the soul of the people, has been substantiated by countless legendary stories and traditions.

All ancient religions, for example, have an Aramazd and a Vahagn, but no religion has the analog of the Armenian "*Yerkner yerkin yev yerkir*" – "Heaven and earth travailed." Nor the Armenian "*Hardgogh*" – the universal Milky Way, which in the Armenian literally means "the stealer of straw." Every religion has its "Prometheus Bound", but the mythology of no nation has an "Artavazd Bound." No matter how close the similarity between Prometheus and Ardevazt, again we are constrained to admit that the bound Artavazd is a truly Armenian creation, both in origin and legend, wholly different from the Hellenic.

Naturally, we cannot approach the religion of Christ through the medium of these analogies and comparisons. Christianity has no similarity to ancient religions. Christianity is the only true message of God to men, as well as the establishment of God's kingdom among men. It is precisely by virtue of this exalted mission that Christianity is Universal, One, and Identical in

its domain, wherever it is preached and whoever accepts it.

Despite this fact, however, Christianity, too, has had its manifestation of differences among all established peoples of the world. Over and above the Christian doctrine, each people has its unique history and traditions. Each people has had its saints and the miracles which have been ascribed to them. Each nation has understood and translated the Bible in its own language and has erected its temples in its own architectural style.

There are three distinctive characteristics which differentiate the Armenian Church from all other churches, giving it its unique character. These are: A. The Story of the Origin of the Armenian Church; B. The Golden Age of the Armenian Church; and C. The character of the Armenian Church.

The Origin

As with all peoples, so with the Armenians, the initial stages of the expansion of Christianity in Armenia is lost in the mists of antiquity for the simple reason that we lack original documents. This is easily understood when we consider that, Christianity in particular, was a forbidden religion, and the fact of its clandestine expansion.

When we consider the mass adoption of Christianity as the national religion through the Third Century, the complete ease of this adoption with practically no opposition whatsoever, a whole nation suddenly turned Christian, we are compelled to admit the high degree of probability that Christianity was spread among the Armenians much earlier than Gregory the Illuminator, the founder of the Armenian church. This preliminary work facilitated the task of the Illuminator. True, we lack a considerable amount of informative literature in regard to this secret expansion, but it does not necessarily follow that not a solitary

mention has been made in regard to initial spread of Christianity.

Aside from the testimony of Armenian tradition, definite mention of missionary work in Armenia has been transmitted to us both by Armenian and foreign chroniclers. Granted that Christianity was first brought to Armenia by the Apostles, their preaching naturally would shed much light on the spread of Christianity in Armenia in the initial stages.

1 — *The Apostolic Nature of the Armenian Church.*

According to Armenian tradition, Christianity was first introduced into Armenia through the Apostles Saint Thaddeus and Saint Bartholomew. Armenian chroniclers have written about the preaching and martyrdom of both apostles. The first to write about them is Moses of Chorene, the Father of Armenian History. After him, Armenian chroniclers, taking advantage of the oral tradition, have extensively reverted to the subject, such as, Faustus of Byzantium, Stepannos Orbelian, Grigor Tathevatz et c. Foreign chroniclers who likewise have recorded the work of the two apostles in Armenia include Eusebius of Caesaria and Labubnia, the Syriac scribe.

According to Armenian chronology, the preaching of Apostle Thaddeus embraces a period of eight years (35-43). It was during this period that Apostle Thaddeus came to Armenia, the Province of Artaz. As a result of his preaching many were converted, among whom was Saint Sandoukh, the daughter of King Sanatrouk, the first Armenian martyr to Christianity. According to *Soperk Haigagan*, as a result of this first preaching, 3400 were converted to the new religion. Apostle Thaddeus was martyred in Artaz and his grave is located to this day in the Manastery of St. Thaddeus, close to the City of Makou of today.

A period of sixteen years (44-60) is ascribed to the missionary work of St. Bartholomew. He preached in the Provinces of

Her and Zarevand, and then the Province of Andsevat, converting many. By order of King Sanadrouk he, too, was martyred in Aghpak. His grave is still there, in the Monastery of St. Bartholomew, close to the City of Bashkaleh of today.

The missionary work of these two apostles, attested to by Armenian and foreign chroniclers, and supported by Armenian tradition, leaves no doubt as to the Apostolicity of the Armenian Church. The graves of both apostles are still in Armenia and the Armenian Church has justly proclaimed them as the "first illuminators" of Armenia.

To these two apostles is ascribed the presence of a number of sacred relics which are the property of the Armenian Church. One of these is the Holy Lance, the lance which, during the crucifixion, one of the Roman guards thrust into the Savior's side. Apostle Thaddeus brought that lance to Armenia with him. For a time the Holy Lance was preserved at the Monastery of Karni, but today it is at the Monastery of Holy Etchmiadzin.

The tradition of the *Holy Miuron* (Unc-tion of Holy Oil) is likewise unique to the Armenians, transmitted by St. Bartholomew who brought to Armenia a bottle of fragrant essence, left to him by Christ. It is this exquisite oil which, each time being mixed with new oil, has lasted to this day under the name of the Holy Miuron.

The preaching of the two apostles was not without its fruits in Armenia. They had a multitude of followers, their disciples who secretly spread Christianity in Armenia.

It would be a mistake to think that, from the apostles to the advent of Gregory the Illuminator, there was no propagation of the faith in Armenia. Fortunately, we are in possession of ample testimony which attest to the succession of the Apostolicity from the First Century to the Third. Thus, after the martyrdom of the two apostles, the succession was taken over by St. Zach-

ariah Patriarch who was a co-worker of Apostle Thaddeus, and according to the testimony of Armenian chroniclers, was a "Servant of the Lord," which means he was ordained. Without entering into the details, I wish to enumerate below the list of the succession which retained the Apostolic bond.

The Patriarchs Zachariah (68-72); Zemen-dos (72-76); Adnerseh (76-92) Mou-shesh (93-123); Shahen (125-150); Shavarsh (151-171); Leontius (171-190); Mehroujan (221-250). With the exception of the first of this list, Zachariah, who was of Jewish descent, all the rest were Armenians.

The chronicles for a period of 31 years, Leontius to Mehroujan, unfortunately have not come down to us but that is no reason, of course, to suppose that the Apostolic succession was not kept. Aside from the Armenian chronology, Eusebius the historian has written of Patriarch Mehroujan as the Patriarch of Armenia. Mehroujan was martyred in the days of King Khosrov of Armenia. We know from history that, a few years after the Patriarch's martyrdom, Khosrov himself was assassinated by Sassanian conspirators at the hand of Anak Phartev, the father of St. Gregory the Illuminator. Anak in turn was killed by Armenian soldiers on the road of his flight. Out of these assassinations two babies were rescued, King Khosrov's son Tiridates and Anak's son Grigor. These two babies once again came face to face at a later date, one of them (Tiridates) as King of Armenia, and the other (Gregory) as the King's private secretary. The rest is familiar history and there is not one Armenian who does not know the story of Armenia's conversion to Christianity. However, to complete this study, we think it pertinent to recount the full story exactly as it was recorded by the chronicler Aghtangelos, a third century historian, who recorded the story of Armenia's conversion.

2 — *The conversion of the Armenians to Christianity.*

When King Tiridates shook off the Sasanian yoke and ascended the Armenian throne, he wanted to celebrate his victory with a thanksgiving festival to be staged at the Temple of the Goldenborn, the Goddess Anahit, near the town of Eriza. On the occasion the King invited Gregory to place a floral wreath at the pedestal of the statue of the Goddess. Gregory, who in his infancy had been taken to Caesarea where he had grown in the Christian religion, naturally refused to obey the King's command. He had come to the Court, primarily, to atone for the crime of his father through his personal service to the King. When it was brought to light that he was a Christian the King was indignant, and with typical pagan barbarism, he subjected Gregory to a series of tortures in the hope of forcing him to renounce his new religion. Aghatangelos describes twelve kinds of torture which were inflicted on Gregory, but the latter survived all the tortures. Meanwhile, Tiridates learned that Gregory was the son of Anak Phartev, the assassin of his father. Thereupon the King subjected Gregory to the supreme torture, he threw him in the Deep Dungeon (Klor Virab) to be devoured by poisonous reptiles or die of starvation.

The historian relates that Gregory remained in the Deep Pit for thirteen years where he was attended by a devout Christian woman, his protector. It is presumed that that devout woman was King Tiridates' sister, Lady Khosrovadoukh. Then came the King's affliction from a malignant disease, following the brutal murder of the Rhipsime Christian virgins. Upon the deterioration of the King's condition, his sister Khosrovadoukh, allegedly having seen a vision, assured the King that Gregory was still alive and that he was the only one who could cure him of his disease. The vision was repeated several times, whereupon

they went to the Deep Pit and verily discovered the Gregory was alive. Gregory was released from the Pit and brought to the palace where he healed the King. In the light of modern psychiatry it would not be difficult to see that the King's sickness was nothing but a mental condition created by a remorseful conscience over the brutal torture and murder of the Christian virgins, murders which he had committed personally out of his passion for Rhipsime, because, it is said, Rhipsime was "very beautiful," and the King "wanted" to take her for his wife.

This mental condition gave rise to an intensive stricken conscience, making him suffer epileptic fits, and he found his tranquility only when Gregory, one of his victims, returned and comforted his soul.

The meeting took place in the Province of Taron, near Bakavan. Gregory, who formerly was engaged in destroying pagan temples and replacing them with Christian churches, supplemented his mission by baptizing the people in the Christian faith. The meeting between Gregory and Tiridates in Bakavan was very touching. Tiridates had come with all his Court dignitaries, all of whom were baptized in the stream of Aradzan, a tributary of Euphrates. Likewise, baptized were the soldiers of the army and the whole people, whose number, according to Aghatangelos, reached four million — *chors hariur blur* (four hundred myriads).

This is the brief story of the Armenian people's conversion to Christianity which must have taken place sometime about 287 A.D. There are those who place the date at 301, but latest research studies, especially those by the Academician Stepan Malkhazian, are sufficiently convincing to lead us to accept 287 as the true date of Armenia's conversion. It is this fact which makes the Armenians the first nation to adopt Christianity as the state religion.

3 — *The question of Ordination and Election.*

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The circumstances of Gregory's election and ordination prior to his launching on his mission are highly interesting, as related by the chronicler. King Tiridates summoned his Court dignitaries and his ministers to a council, to elect a Patriarch. It was plain that Gregory would be their unanimous choice. The form of this election, from the very beginning, insofar as it pertains to the election and ordination of the Armenian clergy, indicates the imperative necessity of popular voice as a major factor which from the very first day became a law. Gregory, together with sixteen ministers, and armed with a royal edict, was sent to Caesarea to be ordained Archbishop and Patriarch of the Armenians at the hand of Archbishop Leontius of Caesarea. This took place in 286 A.D.

It would be erroneous to conclude that, because Gregory was ordained by Patriarch Leontius, the Armenian Church became subject to the Caesarean Diocese. There is not one solitary proof in confirmation of this theory. To be ordained by the hand of neighboring sister church ecclesiastics was a common custom from earliest times. After his return, Gregory the Illuminator in his turn, as Supreme Patriarch of the Armenians, ordained many bishops and priests as pastors in the various regions of Armenia.

4 - *The Vision of Saint Gregory the Illuminator.*

To the Armenian Church, as well as to its authority, of especial significance is the Vision of St. Gregory which took place after the conversion of the Armenians. Visions in Armenian history are major revelations and testimonies of Divine Acts which have a unique significance for the preservation of the Armenian people. Such a case is the vision of St. Mesrop, the inventor of the Armenian alphabet. Only a vision could explain the divine act which Mesrop realised. He realised it through a vision. The first of these visions, the most important which

had to do with the very faith and the salvation of the Armenian people, was the Vision of St. Gregory the Illuminator. This is the miracle of the immovable foundation of the Armenian Apostolic Church. It is the promise of the immovability, the indestructability, and the preservation of the Church Throne which Gregory has related, thus fully meriting the title of Illuminator.

"It was midnight," relates the Illuminator, "you all were deep asleep, suddenly I heard loud, ringing voices, I saw the heavens open, a fiery figure descended and called me by my name. He held in his hand a golden hammer with which he drew the plan of the temple. He was the Only Begotten and as such he drew the plan of the first Cathedral."

Following this we see the founding of the Cathedral of Holy Etchmiadzin about which, it is said, the King and the courtiers carried on their backs the stones to lay the foundation of the first Armenian Cathedral, the first church by the permission of the state in the whole world. Etchmiadzin literally means the Only Begotten descended, and *Louys Pharatz und numa* - "and with it the light of glory." This is the derivation of the appeal in the Armenian *Sharakan* (liturgy), "*Yekayk shindestzouk Sourp skhorann Louso*" - "Come, build the Holy Altar of Light."

It is through this vision, therefore, that the Patriarchal Throne of the Armenian Church was built in Holy Etchmiadzin, in Vagharshapat. This explains the especial significance the Armenians attach to their church.

From then on starts the rise of the Armenian Church which culminated in the Golden Age, and simultaneously, the Golden Age of Armenian Culture. The invention of the Armenian Alphabet, the translation of the Bible, and a prolific literature belong to this age.

The Armenians also converted to Christ-

ianity the neighboring Georgians and the Aghuans which became subordinate Catholicosates to the Armenian Church for centuries. Patriarch Aristages, son of Gregory the Illuminator, was official delegate from Armenia in the Ecumenical Council of Nicea in 325 and from where he brought with him the Nicene Creed which the Armenians call *Havatamk*.

5 — The Ecumenical Councils.

The Armenian Church recognizes and accepts only three ecumenical councils.

A. The Council of Nicea, assembled in 325, which issued the Nicene Creed, the Armenian "*Havatamk*."

B. The Council of Constantinople, assembled in 381, which condemned the "Anti-Holy Ghost" doctrine of Macedon."

C. The Council of Ephesus, assembled in 431, which excommunicated the Nestorian heresy of the dual nature of Christ.

Aside from these councils, the Armenian Church has never accepted any other council. We wish to point out that, until this date the churches maintained friendly relations because, as yet, there was no quarrel over the supremacy of thrones. The Church of Christ, as the Armenian Church conceives and recognizes, was and is One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic and Orthodox.

The controversy over the supremacy of thrones started after the Council of Chalcedon in 451. The Armenians took no part in this Council because they were busy with the Vardanantz War, the life and death struggle for the preservation of Armenian Christianity. This council was not recognized by the Armenian Church for having busied itself with questions which were wholly opposed to the spirit of the Christian Church. Rome and Constantinople were primarily concerned with the matter of patriarchal supremacy, rather than church matters, while on the other side, in the East, the Armenians were fighting for the preservation of their religion. After this council

the friendly relations between the churches unfortunately came to an end. It must be observed, however, that even before this Council the various churches of Christianity were independent, none of them being spiritually subordinate to another. Each Patriarchate had its own diocese. This status, which insisted on the independence of the Armenian Church from the very first, has been preserved by the Armenian Church to this day, to wit, to maintain friendly relations with all churches provided none of them tries to encroach upon the sanctity and the independence of the Armenian Church.

Plainly, in following centuries, especially in the period of the Unitarian movements, pressure was brought upon the Armenian Church for absorption in another church. Through the Chalcedonian movement the Greeks tried to extend their authority on the Armenian Church, while the Latins contested the Greeks with their offer of protectorate. But the Armenian Church always remained independent, not yielding to either of them, while at heart believing in the unity of the churches.

During these unitarian movements, the period of the Crusades, a booklet entitled "*Dashantz Tought*" (Paper on Unitarianism) was published, presumably having come from the pen of Gregory the Illuminator. According to the contents, allegedly, Gregory the Illuminator went to Rome in 321, together with King Tiridates, in order to conclude a religious pact with Pope Silvestrius of Rome. At that time St. Gregory was past his eighties, retired from active service on account of his age, and naturally he could not have gone as far as Rome, particularly since transportation was not so easy. The spurious nature of this document has been conclusively proved by Karapet Vardapet Shahnazarian. It is very plain that the Armenian Church managed to preserve its independence. The Armenian Church

has remained true to the spirit of the Gospel and the Armenian people.

The Golden Age of the Armenian Church

The Golden Age of the Armenian Church is that period when the Church was fully established, prosperous, and was enjoying the highest peak of its religious efflorescence. The period coincided with what is known as the Golden Age of Armenian Culture. This is understandable. As we have seen, religion and culture have always advanced side by side. As regards the Armenian Church, this is the highest proof of the fact that the Armenians had fully absorbed and assimilated the Christian religion.

The Armenians had recognized themselves in the teachings of their church, and conversely, they wanted to transmit to the church the true identity of their spirit. In sponsoring Armenian culture and learning alongside its religious teaching, the Armenian Church became the progenitor of the Armenian spirit and its prosperity must be sought in its devotion to the development of culture. Up until the beginning of the Fifth Century the Armenians had neither letters nor literature. The Bible was read in the Persian, Greek and Syriac languages. This was true also of the church ritual. To have an established church and a kingdom without letters presented a sad spectacle indeed.

1 — *The Invention of the Alphabet and the Translations.*

The first man who sought a remedy to this sad situation was St. Mesrop, having for his collaborator the Armenian Catholicos, Sahak Phartev. Mesrop made extensive travels to Greece and Assyria where he studied the alphabets of these peoples. He made his discovery of the alphabet in a vision as a supernatural revelation. He was not only a Vardapet (Doctor of Theology) of the church but was also a doctor of learning, the first teacher of the Armenian language, the very language which is spoken

today. It is difficult to imagine what would have happened to that vast amount of Armenian historiography which has been transmitted to posterity were it not for the invention of the alphabet. Mesrop was laying the foundation of the very survival of the Armenian people when he invented his letters.

Soon after the invention of the alphabet St. Sahak translated the Bible, and the very first line of his translation was taken from the Book of Proverbs: "*Janachel zimastout-youn yev zkhvat imanal zbans hanjaro*" — "To know wisdom and instruction; to perceive the words of understanding." Then a flock of translators went to Greece and Alexandria where they translated the works of contemporary and ancient philosophers, many of whom became distinguished men of the age. Included in this list are: Moses of Chorene, Korioun, Yeznik, the philosopher David the Invincible and many others.

The date of the invention of the Armenian alphabet must be placed at 404 A.D. Simultaneous with these labors impetus was given to church chronicles, the church ritual and the ceremony took definite shape, a beginning was made of the Armenian church Sharakans (ritual hymns), some by St. Mesrop, some by St. Sahak and some by Chorenatzi (Moses of Chorene). Catholicos Hovhannes Mandakouni laid the foundation of the Armenian liturgy. The infectious spirit of the age gave birth to a whole constellation of brilliant religious writers, all the way from Catholicos Komitas to Nerses the Graceful and Nerses Lambronzatzi, from Hovhanness Oznetzi to Catholicos Hovhannes the Historian and Anania Shirakatzi, from Gregory of Narek to Stepannos Orbelian and Grigor Tathevatz.

2 — *Other values of Armenian culture.*

The first in this line is the Armenian architecture of which Strzykowski justly has said, "Armenia is the cradle of Christian architecture." The golden age of Armenian architecture begins with the Sixth Century.

Armenia has given the full proof of this with its countless churches and monasteries.

Then there are the Armenian churches, no matter if, in large part, they are in ruins today. No matter how cruel the enemies of the Armenians have been in destroying them, they still preserve a great civilization of a people which was the first to find the true God.

Aside from architecture, we have the Armenian miniature, the art of handwriting. It is said that there are 20,000 Armenian manuscripts in the world, a number of which the Armenians can be truly proud. Even the Greek and Latin historiographies have not given that many manuscripts to the world. The art of small caligraphy found in these manuscripts, the product of humble caligraphers, has been raised to the status of a great art. All these are living proof of the efficacy of the Armenian Golden Age.

The Character of the Armenian Church

The credal principles of the Armenian Church, its doctrine, and its differences from the other churches constitute the unique traits of the character of the Armenian church. Other distinguishing traits are the customs and the rituals which are exclusively the birth of the Armenian Church. Studied attentively, they reveal a marked similarity between the characters of the church and the people.

Let us take a few concrete examples. Take, for instance, the internal furnishing of the Armenian church. You do not find there the exaggeration of image worshippers, nor their extremes. It is a happy medium. The Armenian Church is very far removed from the mad wealth of images and statues which are characteristic of Latin churches, nor the mosaic decoration of the Greek churches. The Armenian Church has sought a simple and temperate beauty. As external decoration, it has contented itself with the image of Mary the Mother of God holding in her arms the

Christ Child, and a few pictures of the saints. That is all. In this simplicity we see the temperate elegance and sincerity of the character of the Armenian Church. And this is the character of the Armenian people. This trait is manifest in all other Armenian arts, temperate elegance and sincerity. These traits are discernible in the popular music of the Armenians too.

Another simple example is the use of the crucifix in Armenian churches which differs from that of other churches. The crucifix of other churches carries the image of the crucifixion. The Armenians have no such custom. Thousands of crosses on Armenian graves bear no such image. In this simple custom is discernible the character of a people which has been oppressed for centuries. The Armenian people does not want to see Christ crucified, to be reminded of the gruesome ordeal. The Armenian people are tired of crucifixions and tortures. These characteristics are seen in Armenian rituals and the Sharakans. The Armenian mass is the embodiment of all the virtues of the Armenian character, that is the reason why the Armenian mass is so impressive of the soul of the people.

In the ceremony of the Holy Mass, behind the sacrificial offering of Christ, the Armenian people sees the sacrifice of all its martyrs, and with it, it enters into communion with the person of Christ and with the entire plethora of heroic ancestors, all the way from Khrimian Hairig to Gregory the Illuminator and St. Mesrop. There is not an Armenian home which has not had a martyr of some kind, and all these martyrs speak to the people through the church.

The difference of the Armenian Church consists of two important points, the limitation of its numbers, and the depth of its spirit. The first of these is the result of Armenian rejection of all ecumenical councils which followed the first three. Particularly, the Armenian Church has never recognized

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the Council of Chalcedon. The Armenian Church has preserved intact the pristine tradition. It does not recognize the doctrine of the purgatory, the authority of the Roman Pope, nor his infallibility.

There are some secondary differences as well, such as the date of the observance of Christmas, and a number of church holidays which are not so important. As an unshakable principle, the Armenian Church has always clung to the rule of "*Mioutyoun i Karevors*" — "Unity in essentials." It does not share the Latin Church's intolerance and in important matters of the ritual it accepts the mysteries of ancient churches. From Apostolic days it has preserved the seven sacraments of the church which are: Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Communion, Holy matrimony, Ordination and Extreme Unction.

Beyond its theology and credal code, the Armenian Church has another characteristic which is an essential part of its character. For, as Patriarch Torkom has said, the first fruit of its divine mission was the birth of its nation in the religion of Christ. This is the reason why those who have been most active in the church have also been the

most prominent figures in Armenian national life.

The Armenian Church has firmly stood on its centuries-old principles, whether doctrinal or national. Its seat of the holy heirarchy is Etchmiadzin. That is the throne of Gregory the Illuminator, of Nerses, of Sahak and of Khrimian. It is the place where the Only Begotten descended. Etchmiadzin is the symbol of the Armenian faith, much the same as "*Gavazan Siuni*" (The Staff of Siuni) of the Monastery of Thathev.

It is related that one day Shah Abbas of Persia had Kavazan Siuni tied in iron chains and dragged by forty mules. The chains were shattered, the mules collapsed, Kavazan Siuni moved a little, but still stood firm on his ground.

Kavazan Siuni, the narrow and tall tower of the monastery, is the symbol of the Armenian Church. After Shah Abbas many storms have blown over the Staff. What bloody and dark days it has tided over! And yet, it stands high and proud to this day, planted on the heart of Armenia, and the Armenian people knows that this is its pillar of faith, eternal and indestructible like the character of the people.



THREE POEMS:

AN EVENING MOOD

*Half willingly Diane appears
Pursued by clouds, taunting their caress
And amber lights take birth in alabaster shadows,
Framed by the shores, that wait in wilderness.*

*Soft ripples on the moon-lit path
Bring music from the hidden streams,
And Phoenix of my dreams, —
The life's sweet aftermath, —
Communes with you on moon-spun wings!*

METAMORPHOSIS

*One shimmer of an upward wing
One stretch of black and orange vault
And prism breakes its inner spell
Concordant notes pursue pell — mell
Cocoon's ensuing belt.*

SYMPHONY NO. 1 IN E MINOR

SIBELIUS

*We are but phantoms
Of the hopes unborn
Swift flights of Psyche's
Starlet routes
Our eternal pilgrimage,
Obeying call unknown
Weaves patterns
Of celestial moods.
We reach and soar
As once ordained,
Out there — beyond the milky heights;
And our souls,
Escaping tissue, surrender
To beauty's everlasting rites. . .*

ELENA PROKLOVA

The Right to Know and the Right to Talk under International Law

DR. GEORGE P. RICE, JR.

I

The Climate of Opinion. Not since the emergence of Europe from the twilight of the Middle Ages into the bright light of the Renaissance has there been so great a need for mankind to achieve practical means of assuring the peaceful dissemination of information and ideas among the nations of the earth. Inventors have reduced the span between the farthest points of the globe and here to a matter of hours. Television and radio have brought men and their ideas face to face in the intimacy of the living rooms of millions of homes. Direct communication has become the order of the day among free enterprise nations, regardless of what occurs behind the countries with Iron Curtains. This quick and ready emphasis upon media has brought home to many nations as never before the magnitude of the problems which demand solution of twentieth century minds: intelligent control of a new and immense source of power; determination of the vital question of whether conflict or cooperation will be the pattern of conduct between capitalism and communism; the need to subordinate technical to humanistic values in modern society; the practice of the basic freedoms, common to the Anglo-American world, by all men; and the direction of

"In principio erat verba." John I. i.

the force called public opinion into incisive and useful channels for the intelligent, effective, and responsible control of human affairs. As this article is being written, the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations Organization has begun meetings to advance problems in the field of international communication and understanding.¹

The course of events has brought into existence the two greatly conflicting philosophies of government represented on the one hand by the freedom-loving and law-abiding peoples of the United States and on the other by the enslaved members of the communist empire. Despite participation by both groups in the organization of the UNO, it cannot be said that governments of both have been equally cooperative and equal in good faith in working for constructive solutions of mutual problems. Considerations of expediency rather than of honor and good will have more often than not marked the international relations

¹. This article and those immediately succeeding it are members of a series written on the theme of Civil and Political Rights for the Review. The materials offered in them were first prepared for use in the seminary in International Law at the Indiana University School of Law and later were used in whole or in part for lectures at Wabash College, Butler University, and other universities visited by the writer on a Ford Foundation Fellowship.

of Russia and her satellites. Something close to one-quarter of the human race, led by despots, defies the Charter, and an additional fifty per cent does not have intelligent awareness of the reality of the problem for themselves.²

These facts underline the need for free legal communication as a means to educate the peoples of the globe to the decencies of the Golden Rule — do unto others as one would have done unto himself. Scarcely a day passes without some evidence of lack of good faith and willingness to abide by a reasonable standard of international morality. Nations accept or decline the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice for questionable motives only too frequently.³

We are not without suggestions as to the needs of free and even eloquent communication from sources so ancient as the Golden Age of Athens, suggestions which though contributed by rhetoricians, are not without a general significance.⁴

They include:

- a. The need for freedom to speak and to be heard.
- b. The need for clear framing of issues of vital concern to bodies politic.
- c. The need for international spokesmen of high moral and intellectual parts whose abilities have been trained by consideration of political problems.
- d. The need for intelligent and enlightened audiences to judge such men and their utterance.
- e. The need for a common and well developed linguistic medium for international communication, oral and written alike.

Neither are considerations of free legal speech limited to the category of the pro-

fane, for the recent and continuing encroachments of communism into the sacred utterances of churchmen are ample evidence that any type of speech is subject to criticism and prior censorship by the Soviet State within the spheres of its control. Above all demands of common cause and expediency stands the historical precedent of linking lay and religious interests in justice by a single bond.⁵

The milieu in which the reader has his being demands even now some judgment on an issue so basic as the continued participation by the United States in the affairs and councils of the United Nations. Prominent members of the Congress of the United States have often and forcibly expressed views opposing such cooperation on the part of their government. It seems fairly obvious that without good grounds for reliance upon active and constructive participation by the United States, the work of the Human Rights Committee becomes moot. Mr. Gross suggests some strong reasons for continued American activity with the United Nations:⁶

- a. Membership in the United Nations holds all member nations, including Russia, legally and morally accountable for their actions in the light of commitments made upon signing the Charter.
- b. All members are subject to the moral and political pressures available when debate takes place in an open forum provided by the United Nations.
- c. Such a theater of operations requires frequent public revelation of Soviet attitudes, philosophy, and methodology in relation to other member nations.
- d. Continuing membership by the United States provides her with opportunity for peaceful negotiation on specific issues.
- e. The active participation by powerful nations whose moral standards in inter-

² E. A. Gross, "Revising the Charter," *FOREIGN AFFAIRS*, XXXII. No. 2, p. 213.

³ *TIME*, LXIV. 20-21, July 26, 1954.

⁴ R. C. Jebb, *THE ATTIC ORATORS*, Macmillan, New York, 1867, Vol. II. Address of the Chancellor of Oxford University, 1899, pp. 1-4. Privately printed.

⁵ E. Rousselet, *HISTOIRE DE LA JUSTICE*, Paris, 1948, Ch. I.

⁶ Gross, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

national conduct are high makes it easier for smaller and weaker member nations to make ethical decisions in difficult cases.

The views and actions of the United States and other right-thinking members of the family of nations serve, in brief, to counter-balance such things as the Soviet abuse of the veto, her attempts at international intimidation, and her expressed contempt for the processes of international cooperation.

II

The Development of International Justice. The clear understanding of the problem of free communication under international law requires insight into the development of international justice from two points of view: the evolution of tribunals, and then the growth of the body of law and the processes by which it is applied. Although the beginnings of international law may be traced back at least to the Fourth Century, B. C., the signing of the Jay Treaty between the United States and Great Britain in 1794 is a good starting point for the purposes of this article.⁷ From so modest a start international law grew rapidly in principle, case, and application. The turn of the twentieth century could look back upon 177 awards handed down by arbiters in international disputes. Matters which were adjudicated included: boundaries, other territorial disagreements, maritime seizures, the consequences of riot and civil war, and claims based upon personal injury and destruction of property. Readers will recall clearly the consequences averted by the successful settlement of the Alabama Claims between Great Britain and the United States shortly after the War Between the States.

The next pillar erected was the first Hague Peace Convention in 1899. From its sessions came the Hague Convention for

the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. Some twenty awards were handed down by this tribunal during the thirty years of its existence between 1902 and 1932, many of them significant in setting the pattern for arbitration and award under international law.

When World War I came to an end, the nations signed the covenant of the League of Nations, including Article 14 ratified in 1920, providing for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. This League, of which the United States was, unfortunately, not a member, concluded its duties in 1946; during its life it had provided thirty judgments and twenty-seven advisory opinions. Thus, the corpus of international law was permanently enriched to that extent.

An immediate replacement was at hand, for in 1945 the United Nations Organization was born. A statute annexed to its Charter established an International Court of Justice. Of especial importance to the scholars, diplomats, and lawyers engaged in the revision of the Charter provisions was paragraph one of Article 34 which declared: "Only States may be parties in cases before the Court." As McNair pointed out, ". . . the importance of this sentence lies in its negative aspects; that is, in what it excludes; it embodies what has been called the orthodox doctrine of international law; namely, that it is a law between States and that States (and certain associations of States) are alone capable of holding rights or being subject to duties and of possessing a *persona standi in judicio*."⁸

The practical effect of Article 34 is, therefore, to deny individual persons access to the Court's facilities for their cases when brought in private names. Neither can the private individual appear before the Court as a defendant. Here, then, is a point of di-

⁷ A full discussion may be found in P. Vinogradoff, *OUTLINES OF HISTORICAL JURISPRUDENCE*, London, 1922, Vol. II.

⁸ A. D. McNair, *THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE*, New York, 1954, p. 8.

vergence between two groups of international jurists and lawyers. The most advanced and liberal thinking here affirms the right of the individual to bring a foreign government before the Court, and some even go further and hold he has a moral right to bring his own Government before it in litigation. It is encouraging to protagonists of international civil rights that many nations have conceded this right in actual practice. But in general, where an individual has a claim against a foreign state, he has the task of interesting his own Government in it to the extent of acting as plaintiff in international court. *But he does not do so as of right.* McNair is spokesman for the view that he should not have this right, since the imprimatur of his own Government should first be stamped on his complaint in order to avoid international friction. It appears that most cases in this category have concerned financial rather than political interests, and these have been adjudicated by the Claims Commission.

Does international law use previous decisions and provide declaratory judgments in accord with the practice of Anglo-Saxon law? Evidence exists that the International Court feels free to use decisions of its predecessor, the Permanent Court of the League of Nations, and by this means it has access to an accumulation of case law useful for precedents. But these two bodies have used the opinions of other international or domestic tribunals very sparingly. Separate Opinions of individual judges, on the other hand, contain such references. The lawyer trained in the common law of England and America views *stare decisis* with respect. But in international law Article 59 may appear to contradict this practice almost completely. "The decision of the Court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of that particular case." But in actual practice, so thinks McNair, the natural process of looking to pre-

cedents is followed, and there is even statutory authority for it, since Article 38 refers to "judicial decisions" as a "subsidiary means for the determination of the rules of law," which must of necessity include decisions of the Permanent Court and the International Court.

III

The Development of the Law. The previous section has been concerned with basic concepts of the tools and instrumentalities for use in international law as these affect litigation on human rights in the domain of communication. We turn now to the growth of the law itself. Whence come the substantive rights of which we speak? By and large they stem from one or all of three processes. These include: the accumulation of case-law originating in awards by commissions and tribunals in past actions; codification of international law by way of international conventions meeting to that end; and codification by way of restatement, very much in the manner in which the American Law Institute has promoted the codification of our law of contracts or torts.

That case law has made its contribution is proved by the fewer than 200 decisions in international law cited by Dana's *Wheaton* in 1866 compared with the more than 2000 cited by Hyde in his second revised edition of *INTERNATIONAL LAW* in 1947. The intervening eight years have, of course, added many more.

Codification of international law has been disappointing in its results, especially in that portion dealing with "human rights." In 1924 the League of Nations appointed a committee of jurists to codify certain topics of law and that group entertained a list of eighteen subjects. The domains suggested by "Extradition" and "Responsibility of States for Damage Done in Their Territories to the Person or Property of Foreigners" were examined, but nothing per-

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manent ensued. National interest was still much too strong for international understanding.

The third source of international law, restatements, has offered much more ground for optimism. M. O. Hudson has edited *RESTATEMENTS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW* during the period 1927 to 1939 under the aegis of the Harvard Law School and these are presently available.

It is amply in evidence that international law is not the panacea for all of the ills which escaped Pandora's box. But law on any level is a powerful force, the expression and embodiment of human conscience. But it shares power with other elements in the social order — religion, economics, politics, and science, among others. "There will always be disputes between States not susceptible of a legal solution."⁹ It is significant that the Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations asserts to all men its intent "to reaffirm faith in fundamental

human rights in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained."

This is a mandate to political leaders, jurists, lawyers, and publicists of all nations to hasten the perfection of international law and the machinery for its enforcement so that all disputes, but especially those involving human rights, can be resolved upon a basis of settled law and procedure as firm and fixed as the law of the Medes and the Persians was in times of old.

The approach to the problems of free international communication under law will be further discussed in the next article by examining the philosophic values in free communication, the relevant Articles of the International Declaration of Human Rights, free speech as adjudicated in domestic American courts, and finally, the rules and regulations governing the United Nations' "enclave" in New York City.

⁹. A DeLapradelle et N. Politis, *RECUEIL DES ARBITRAGES INTERNATIONAUX*, Paris, 1904, Preface, XIV.



NATIONAL UNITY AND ITS ENEMIES

REUBEN DARBINIAN

The Need of Unity and the Causes of the Present Disunion

The Armenian people, like all other peoples of the world, look upon internal solidarity as the most potent weapon in the preservation of their national values. This includes the physical preservation of the nation, its social, cultural and spiritual progress, and the guardianship of its freedoms. One need not have an exaggerated degree of national consciousness in order to comprehend and strive for this fundamental aim. The very instinct of self-defence suffices to bring home the paramount importance of national unity.

Despite this fact, in the course of Armenian history there have always been individuals and factions, be they ever so small in numbers and influence, who have brought great harm to the nation, and sometimes fatal harm, by promoting discord, disunity and division in the nation. The story of Vardanantz War is one of the most outstanding examples of such disunity.

Disunity, of course, is not limited to Armenians alone. The Greeks, for instance, have been a divided people from earliest times, have constantly been at war with one another, have slaughtered one another ruthlessly, and despite their great contribution to civilization, they have seldom shown any aptitude for sustained unity in the maintenance of a great state. Even today, few are not the nations who are less divided than the Armenians.

Needless to say, only those nations have been, and still are, powerful which have

been united. True, there is not a people on the face of the earth in which all the elements are solidly cemented. In each nation there is an element which is rebellious and mischief-making. Even a politically mature and united nation like the English is not without such an element.

Such an element in a politically and socially healthy people, however, is capable of promoting disunity only in peaceful times; in times of national crises it is powerless to convert disunity into division.

When we analyze the causes of disunity in the internal life of nations, disunities which sometimes culminate in division, we shall see that they always emanate from two sources: internal, and external.

The internal causes stem from certain psychological factors which, in turn, are the result of a people's racial characteristics, its peculiar physical, economic and political conditions, as well as its past and the present. These causes, however, no matter how powerful, seldom lead to extremes and culminate in outright division unless they are supported by external causes.

For instance, the disunity of the Armenian *Nakharars* — the tribal princes — of the Fifth Century could never have resulted into an outright clash between the adherents of Vardan and Vasak were it not for the rivalry and the intrigues of the two powerful neighbors of Armenia, Byzantium and Persia. Even so today, the disunity of the Armenians would never have attained to its present proportions if the Armenian racial and psychological peculiarities had

not been supplemented by the Soviet's subversive and perfidious intervention which, not satisfied with the conquest of the Armenian fatherland, strives to dominate and to render subservient to its will the Armenian Communists of abroad.

Let no one misunderstand us. Without Soviet encroachments, too, there would have been political differences of opinion among the Armenians, as there were during the period which preceded the Soviets. But at no time has the Armenian people been so divided among itself as to be unable, even in the free countries of the world, to maintain common schools, a common church, a common literature and a common culture, in short a common social life. And if disunity today is so deeply rooted and exacerbated among the Armenians to the point of open division, the cause, without doubt, is the Soviet. Through its countless agents, by inciting the passions, by straining the inter-relations of various factions, by deepening the rift between them, and by capitalizing diabolically regrettable incidents of the past, the Soviet has succeeded in creating a rift which is almost unbridgeable.

In the course of years whenever we have spoken of the disruptive role of Soviet agents among the Armenian people, our offended opponents have countered with the argument that, a great power like the Soviet Union, no matter how imperialistic in its aims, cannot even be bothered with an "insignificant force" as the Armenians of the dispersion.

It can be stated confidently that, in the entire history of mankind, there has never been a period when the government of a powerful state operated so many fifth columns in all countries of the world as has the Soviet Union. And these fifth columns are made not only of card-bearing Communist members, but of men and women who are hidden behind innocent-sounding and misleading front names, such as "Pro-

gressives," "Antifascists," "Democrats," and "Anti-anti-Communists." All these, knowingly and unknowingly, are directed by instructions from the Soviet center, transmitted through heavily disguised Communist agents.

These agents operating in free countries have succeeded in infiltrating non-Communist, and even anti-Communist organizations to undermine them from within or to direct their policies to the benefit of the Soviet. And what is most alarming of all, there is not a free country in the world where the Soviet agents have not infiltrated the state machinery, beginning with the state department to the army, the navy and the air force. Lastly, there is not a free country in which the Soviet agents, under a thousand innocent-sounding humanitarian fronts, have not made their influence felt on the press, the motion picture industry, the television, and even the churches, to divert and to mould the public opinion to the benefit of the Soviet Union.

In short, the Soviet agents have cast their invisible network on all the branches of public life, misleading the simple-minded public, and poisoning them to the detriment of free governments and their anti-Soviet policy, while their spies who have infiltrated the administrations of these countries steal their state secrets with amazing cleverness.

Needless to say, of all the free countries of the world, the principal target of Soviet agents is the United States. To penetrate the life of this great republic, the acknowledged leader of free countries, to influence its public opinion, and to mould its state policy, is of course the Soviet's prime concern. Very understandably, another target of Soviet agents are those expatriates of the Soviet Union who have found refuge in the United States, to bring them under their influence.

It is for this reason that, the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Byelorussians, the Ar-

menians, the Georgians, the Estonians, the Lithuanians, the Latvians, the Polish, the Rumanians, the Czechoslovaks, the Hungarians, the Bulgarians and the Yugoslavs who live in the United States for years have become the object of Soviet agents' subversive and ruinous activity.

Of course, the expatriates living in other free countries, too, have not been exempt from the machinations of Soviet agents. But without question, the expatriates operating in the United States, by virtue of their far more influential position, have been the principal object of Soviet pursuit.

The reason for this special attention is not difficult to understand. First of all, they are the living witnesses of all the tragic aspects of Soviet reality and their very existence is discreditable for the Soviet dictators. Second, having felt on their skin all the smart of the Soviet hell, they are implacable foes of the Soviet regime. Third, being well acquainted with the conditions of the Soviet regime, they can impart this information to the free peoples of the world, and thus, can nullify materially the effects of the Soviet's misleading propaganda. Fourth, as a living bond with the peoples enslaved by the Soviet, they can serve as the forerunners of the emancipatory movements of those peoples, and when the victory is won, they can act as the builders of free democratic orders in their respective fatherlands.

If this element, so dangerous for the Soviet regime, were in the Soviet Union, it would surely be exterminated without ado, partly by outright execution, and partly by a slow death in slave labor camps.

How the Division Came About

Soviet agents' subversive activities among all expatriated communities of the free world which have run away from the Soviet Union bears practically an identical pattern in point of form and method, with slight differences depending upon the specific

internal condition of the several expatriated nationalities. Thus, an analytical survey of Communist subversive activities among the Armenians of the United States will give us a general idea of what is being done among the other nationality groups who claim their origins from the Baltic, Balkan, Caucasus, and east European countries which have been enslaved by the Soviet.

As far as the Armenian communities of dispersion are concerned, from Iran to California, the chief target of Communist agents for years has been the Armenian Revolutionary Federation and its affiliated organizations. The reason for this is that the Federation with its affiliates is the only politically organized force among the Armenians which openly and consistently is anti-Soviet and anti-communist, and which has been fighting the Soviet imperialism and its Communist ideology unrelentingly ever since 1917.

During this period, admittedly, there were times when the Federation, as the responsible leader and creator of the Republic of Armenia, in its solicitude over the physical safety of the Armenian people, and later in its eagerness to relax the intensity of Soviet oppression, made several attempts to come to an amicable understanding with the Soviet Government. These were the negotiations of 1918 in Moscow, in 1920 during the last days of the Armenian Republic, in 1922 in Riga, and lastly, during the last stages of World War II, at the United Nations assembly in San Francisco. All these efforts proved fruitless just like all the efforts of other nations to come to an amicable understanding with the Soviet, or to create a tolerable status of peaceful coexistence have been futile.

True, aside from the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, there are other organizations among the Armenians, political and non-political, which, in their aims, in their political ideology, their temperament and aspirations are non-Communist or anti-

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Communist, and which could and should have joined the Federation in the common fight against the Soviet evil. The Ramgavar Party — Armenian Liberal Democrats, the Knights of Vardan, the churches, and the anti-Dashnak compatriotic societies, by the very nature of their organizations, should have aligned themselves against the Soviet. And one should expect that the Soviet agents would make them an equal target of their persecution.

The Soviet agents, however, left these organizations alone and concentrated their effort on the Federation. In doing so, they were pursuing several aims.

First, to divide the Armenian forces and to prevent them from forming a common front against Communism, as they do with all other nationality groups; and after the destroying the most dangerous among them, to settle their account with the rest one at a time.

Secondly, insofar as the Armenians are concerned, they consider the Armenian Revolutionary Federation as their principal foe.

Thirdly, they know from experience that they can never chain the Federation to their chariot, whereas they know from equal experience that they can marshal the remaining organizations in a common fight against their chief opponent, namely, the Federation.

It is highly significant that the Soviet agents, with years of poisonous propaganda, succeeded in injecting and deepening in the opposition the devastating and spurious idea that any Armenian who opposes the Soviet is an enemy of Armenia and the only patriotic Armenian is the one who is a friend of the Soviet regime. This made the Dashnak Armenian (Revolutionary Federation) "anti-Armenian."

Another fiction which the Soviet agents successfully transmitted to the opponents of the Dashnaks is the Soviet's so-called "liberatory" role in connection with the

Independent Republic's downfall. They have represented the Soviet as the "liberators," or the "saviors" of the Armenian people, whereas, the historical fact is, it was the Soviet which instigated and helped Kemalist Turkey to attack Armenia while she herself invaded Armenia from the north, as "liberator", thus dividing the Independent Republic into two parts.

The Soviet agents, furthermore, succeeded in bringing together all the non-communist anti-Dashnak organizations as a united front against the Federation, inoculating in them the revolting idea that the real enemy of the Armenian people is not the Soviet which in collusion with Kemalist Turkey put the knife to the Independent Armenian Republic, but the revolutionary Federation, the leader of freedom aspiring Armenians and the very organization which created the Independent Republic of Armenia.

Finally, by infiltrating these organizations, the Soviet agents filled the important executive positions with such men who used the moral and material resources of these organizations in the interests of Soviet policies and objectives, all in the name of aiding Armenia.

How did the Soviet agents manage to mislead these organizations? How did they manage to chain them all to their chariot during the past 20-30 years?

First, they took advantage of the complete ignorance of a large part of their leaders and their followers in regard to the grim Soviet reality. They had no difficulty in putting across their rosy lies about Soviet Armenia, how the people there are happy and prosperous, free economically, politically, and that the Armenian church has never been so free in all her history as she now is under the Soviet regime.

Secondly, by exploiting the credulity and the prejudices of the leaders and members of these organizations toward the Armenian

Revolutionary Federation, they made them swallow, hook, line and sinker, their abominable lies and slanders. Thus they counteracted the truthful information of the well-informed Dashnak press and their literature in regard to the real life in Soviet Armenia.

Third, the Soviet agents exploited the patriotic instinct and sentiments of these non-Dashnak and non-Communist organizations in regard to the Armenian fatherland. The incorrect yet rosy information in regard to Soviet Armenia was more pleasing to the ears of those men than the unfavorable but truthful information supplied by the Dashnak press.

Lastly, the Soviet agents took full advantage of the fact that Etchmiadzin, the most revered and most sacred Armenian religious center, was located under the Soviet regime, which through the threat of death, by prevailing upon the Armenian Catholicos, could use it as its tool to control all the Armenian churches of the dispersion. To this end, the Soviet agents tried to neutralize or to expel the Dashnaks and their followers from the Armenian church, subdued the Armenian high ranking clergy under the threat of suspension or unfrocking, and made the multitude of believers think the Federation is an enemy not only of Armenia but also of Etchmiadzin, and therefore, any one who follows this organization is an outcast from both the nation and the church.

These treacherous activities of Soviet agents, continuously for years encouraged by an important segment of anti-Dashnak organizations, naturally was no contribution to the national unity of the Armenian American community, nor the other Armenian communities of the world.

The Exploitation of the Armenian Church

The most dangerous weapon which the Soviet uses to divide the Armenians of the

dispersion, and to keep them divided, to cripple the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, and to incite the other Armenian non-Communist organizations against the Federation, no doubt, is the Armenian church.

As known, after taking over the power in Russia, the Communists did their utmost to ruin all the churches, to destroy the clergy, and to drive off the believers from religion. They seized all the estates of the church, founded atheists' clubs, publicly ridiculed religion, demolished the church buildings and converted others to stables, warehouses, and at best to anti-religious clubs and museums, persecuted and terrorized the believers, and prohibited the teaching of religion. The Soviet Government was at open war with the churches and was trying to eradicate religion as its deadly enemy in all the subjugated nationalities.

Naturally, the Armenian Church was no exception to this rule. Hundreds of Armenian clergymen were tortured to death, were imprisoned, exiled and executed. The estates bequeathed to the church by the believers through the course of centuries were seized, the Armenian prelacies throughout the Soviet Union were abolished, the entire Armenian church organization was wrecked, Etchmiadzin, the Holy See of the Armenians, was converted into a museum, and finally, Khoren Archbishop Mouradbekian, the Catholicos of All Armenians, was strangled by the Chekists.

Nevertheless, all these destructive measures were unable to eradicate religion in Armenia, as in all the other parts of the Soviet Union. The 1937 census showed clearly that there had been no diminution in the number of the believers in any section of the Soviet Union. The rulers in the Kremlin finally realized that their measures had been inadequate to realize one of their basic aims, namely, the eradication of religion.

This, of course, was no reason why they should give up their primary aim, but it had an important bearing on future events. When World War II broke out, confronting the Soviet simultaneously with external and internal dangers, the Soviet deemed it wise to modify its policy toward the church. The experiment during the war convinced the Soviet rulers that the churches can be useful to a considerable extent. All they had to do was to utilize them to the best interests of Soviet imperialism.

It is noteworthy that the Soviet has been employing a twofold policy toward the church since the end of the last war; one for the people inside the Iron Curtain, and the other for the peoples outside.

Inside the Soviet Union the Soviet although now more tolerant toward the churches whose number had been reduced to a minimum, and no longer persecutes the believers in a provocative and vulgar manner as formerly, but basically it remains the enemy of religion, looks upon the believers with suspicion, as political unreliable. Today, too, the public teaching of religion is prohibited as before, and the organized fight to eradicate religion continues as before.

The new Soviet church policy toward the outside world, however, is an entirely different thing. Here the Soviets try to look religious and even church-loving. The godless Communists and their fellow-travelers worm their way into church boards of trustees and pretend to be devout believers.

Here the Communists are ordered to take control of the churches, the clergy and the boards of trustees, to elect prelates who will toe the Soviet line, and to drive off all lay and church members who disapprove of the Soviet and who strive to rescue the Armenian church from the clutches of the Communists.

The experience of Archbishop Nersoyan

who for years was Prelate of the anti-Dashnak faction of the Armenian church of America is highly significant in this respect. From the day he came to the United States, Archbishop Nersoyan followed the Soviet line and did everything which the Soviet Government demanded of him through Etchmiadzin. But one day, with the reversal of American internal and external policy toward the Soviet, when rigid execution of Soviet directives through Etchmiadzin became a risky thing, Nersoyan became more careful in carrying out orders from Etchmiadzin lest he endangered his standing and the good reputation of his flock in the eyes of the American Government. For instance, he ignored the directive for the observance of November 29, the infamous day of Armenia's enslavement, as the day of "Armenia's liberation" in the version of the Communists. He also showed a more cooperative attitude toward those believers and the clergy who sympathized with the views of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. And lastly, he made efforts to restore the unity of the Armenian church in America.

Archbishop Nersoyan's effort resulted in his defeat. He fell from grace and lost the election as Prelate, his place being filled by Archbishop Calfayan, a person who only lately unashamedly issued a statement that "the Armenians in the Soviet Union enjoy religious freedom," that "the people of Soviet Armenia today are more happy and enjoy peace of mind," and that "travel in Armenia is perfectly free." We may be sure that such a Prelate, no matter how unworthy of his calling, will never fall from the grace of the Soviet Government which speaks in the name of Etchmiadzin. And if his flock, sensing the danger of questionable loyalty which surely will accrue to its name, does not rid itself of such a Prelate, he will for a long time continue to poison the minds not only of his own flock, but the minds of all others who come

in contact with the Armenians under his influence.

Unfortunately, many do not see the manner in which the Soviet Government uses the authority of the Armenian Catholicos to subserve its interests. Through the authority of the Armenian Catholicos the Soviet controls the Armenian clergy, forcing them not to deviate from the Communist line, or not to contravene that line, under penalty of dismissal from office, suspension, or unfrocking. Hidden behind the authority of the Catholicos, the Soviet works in the dark, subtly and unnoticed.

The Soviet abuses the authority of the Armenian Catholicos in the interests of its false propaganda, such as "the promotion of the peace," "disarmament," "coexistence," on the prohibition of the atomic weapons, etc., the primary object of all which is the promotion of Soviet imperialism. The aged and ill Catholicos Gevorg VI was forced to attend a number of Soviet-inspired "peace congresses", ostensibly in support of such noble concepts as disarmament and world peace, but in reality calculated to lend force to Soviet resolutions against the United States, the Catholic Church, and generally speaking the free world. Through pastoral letters and through the official organ "Etchmiadzin", the Armenian Catholicos was forced to wage a poisonous propaganda against the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the Catholic Church and the free world. The pro-Soviet propaganda under the pretext of observing November 29, annually carried on under auspices of a certain faction of the Armenian church, by explicit directives from Etchmiadzin, is another example of the abuse of the authority of the Armenian church.

Years ago a former Chekist named Agabekov shocked the Armenian communities of the world with the sensational disclosure that there were a number of high ranking Armenian clergymen who were Cheka's secret agents abroad. These ecclesi-

astical Chekists assuredly have not completely disappeared now. If some of them are dead now, no doubt new ones have taken their places. These men work neither for the Armenian church nor the people, but for their personal gain and position and for the extension of Soviet imperialism.

The Effort to Scuttle the Armenian Revolutionary Federation

The Soviet agents do not confine their activities to discredit, isolate and destroy the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in Armenian circles alone. They pursue their policy of defamation among the non-Armenians as well. In this respect, their activities in the United States are highly significant.

From the day President Roosevelt officially recognized the Soviet Government, Soviet agents infiltrated practically all the branches of the U. S. administrative apparatus. Working in the dark, these agents influenced public opinion. They even succeeded in placing their men in governmental and labor union key positions. Meanwhile their Armenian counterparts prepared the stage among the Armenian community for their coming conspiracy against the Armenian Revolutionary Federation.

In those days nothing could have served the Soviet purpose better than representing the Armenian Revolutionary Federation as a Fascist or Nazi organization. Hitler was blandishing his threats and was about to unleash the war, and the American people was becoming hostile to both Fascist and Nazi regimes. Nothing could have discredited the Federation more in the eyes of the American people and their government than the spread of the abominable rumor that the ARF was an agency of Hitler, financially supported by the latter, and plotting the overthrow of our American free, democratic order.

To make their abominable slanders all the more acceptable to the public, the

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Soviet agents, typical of the Communistic techniques, started to cull from the Dashnak press passages and excerpts out of context, distort and pervert their original meaning, and at times conveying the exactly opposite meaning, and thus to offer them to the public as authentic proof of Dashnak complicity.

In the hottest days of the last war, when passions against the Nazis ran high, the Soviet agents dragged the Armenian Relief Society, the greatest Armenian women's charity organization in the world, before the American authorities, representing it as a Fascist auxiliary of the "Fascist" Armenian Revolutionary Federation. Going even farther, they slandered the Dashnak youths in the American army, the navy and the air force, the very youths who were fighting and risking their lives for the preservation of American democracy, as Hitler's agents who should be immediately immobilized, segregated, and cashiered. Irrefutable proof of this dastardly activity was published in the press at that time.

On the other hand, the Soviet agents, contradicting even themselves, tried to represent the Armenian Revolutionary Federation as a negligible power among the Armenians, a pitiful minority, disliked by the Armenian people, and its influence on Armenian life practically nil. They minimized and discounted the Federation's achievements of the past, that the Independent Republic of Armenia came into existence despite the will of the Federation, that the Federation was the cause of all Armenian ills and misfortunes, including the deportations and the massacres, and that, were it not for the rescuing role of the Soviet, the remnants of the Armenian people would have been annihilated, that today the sole evil among the Armenians is the Federation, and if the Armenians in the dispersion are divided, the sole cause is the Federation, if the Armenian church is divided into two, the sole cause is the

Federation, and lastly, if the various governments of the free world look with suspicion on Armenian loyalty, the sole cause again is the Federation.

Thus, for the past 20-30 years, the Soviet agents distorted the facts of past and contemporary Armenian history, just as they have done with the histories of other peoples. Thus, if one is caught in an argument with them in an effort to refute their lies, he will be obliged to correct their pronouncements from end to end in order to reconstruct the truth. Needless to say, this is a thankless and futile labor when your opponent is a proven liar, always putting you on the defensive, and always contriving to discover new opportunities for fresh slanders with which to poison the air.

There was a time when the task of discrediting the Armenians, the Federation in particular, was confined to Turkish agents, but these were not masters of the art of propaganda and had difficulty in finding collaborators among the Armenians. Today, the effort of Soviet agents and their collaborators is infinitely more productive, to the detriment of the Armenian people in general, and to the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in particular.

First of all, the Soviet agents are better trained than the Turks in the fine art of defamation, and secondly, they are incomparably more adept in enlisting Armenians in their nefarious activities.

Never, in the whole history of mankind, has there been a time when an imperialist nation, through its agents and its propaganda, was able to ensnare so many individuals in free countries, to organize so many fifth columns, and to promote subversion so efficiently as the Soviet Government. The Soviet has wrought havoc among the Armenians. After conquering the Independent Republic of Armenia, the nucleus of the Armenian fatherland, through the treachery of Communist Armenians, the Soviet succeeded in taking over certain elements and

organizations among the Armenians of abroad, and through them divided the Armenian communities of the world. During the past thirty years, there has not been a single Armenian organization, it is safe to say, which the Soviet agents did not try to infiltrate.

The Soviet is in reality opposed to all Armenian organizations of abroad, with the exception of Communist organizations. Within the Soviet Union, including Soviet Armenia, the Soviet has liquidated all of them. But no matter how badly it wanted, it could not, nor can today, destroy all non-Communist Armenian organizations of abroad. For this reason, it has concentrated its effort for the present only against the most dangerous among them. These should be destroyed. The less dangerous organizations must be rendered harmless, or converted into Soviet tools.

After the failure of its effort to "bury" the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in Soviet Armenia through the aid of "leftist Dashnaks", the Soviet has now turned its attention to the Dashnaks of abroad, to this day trying to destroy that organization by secretly encouraging random Dashnak apostates to disrupt the Federation from within, or to convert its anti-Soviet policy into a pro-Soviet policy. A similar effort took place years ago in France, and another effort is being made today in the Middle East, both under different names but both aimed at the destruction of the Federation.

Nevertheless, all these efforts, although damaging to a certain extent, have proved futile either to disrupt the Federation, or to make a dent on its anti-Communist policy.

Unfortunately, the Soviet conspiracy had an entirely different effect on anti-Dashnak non-Communist organizations. The Hunchak Party practically became Communist. The Ramgavar Party (Armenian Liberal Democrats), despite their name and avowed principles, easily fell under the influence

of Soviet agents and often have become their tool. Their prejudice and hatred of the Dashnaks was so great that, while themselves not Communists, they preferred the company of the Communists from sheer spite, just to be against the Dashnaks.

It is to be regretted that the Ramgavar "Liberals" have not freed themselves of this mentality, so damaging to the nation. Otherwise, they would have parted long since from the so-called American Armenian National Council which, under the pretext of pursuing the Armenian Cause, is nothing but a Soviet propaganda agency.

It is most gratifying, however, that the Armenian General Benevolent Union, for years a close cooperator and almost inseparable from the Ramgavar "Liberals," certain elements of the anti-Dashnak faction of the Armenian Church, and the Knights of Vardan, recently have been showing serious signs of shedding off the Soviet influence, to be more independent, or at least to take a politically neutral stand in the future.

National Unity, Not with, But Against Soviet Agents

After a series of setbacks resulting from an aroused public opinion which left the Communist agents in America stunned for quite some time, the latter of late have come to life again, trying to recapture the positions which they steadily lost during the past years.

Until 1947 the Soviet agents in the United States made the most of the prevailing favorable setting for their subversive activities. With the implementation of the "Truman Doctrine" after 1947, however, this situation was reversed to the detriment of the Communists. With each passing year their activity, or even the maintenance of their existence, became increasingly difficult.

It should be stated, however, that this transformation of the American political

mood toward the Communists took place more noticeably and quickly than the change among the American Armenians. During the past twenty years the Soviet agents have wrought such havoc among the Armenians and so deepened the rift that the awakening of the American Armenians and the restoration of their unity has become an incomparably far more difficult task than a similar achievement in American life.

Fortunately, during the past eight years the psychological change in America toward the Soviet dictatorship has had a perceptible effect upon the Armenians. Consequently, the Soviet agents have become uneasy, seeing the firm ground slowly slipping away from under their feet. They are afraid that they will slowly lose their hold on Armenian organizations as was the case with the American organizations, a hold which proved so disastrous not only for the Armenian community of America, but for all the Armenians communities of the world.

No matter how decisive the role of American foreign and internal policy toward Soviet imperialism in general, and the Communists in particular, this alone will not account for the hopeful psychological change which of late is increasingly discernible among those elements of the American Armenian community which took a hostile stand against the Armenian Revolutionary Federation during the past twenty years. In this change, a definite role, even if modest, has been played, and continues to be played, by the English language publications of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, especially *The Armenian Review* which, slowly and on a limited scale, has made its influence felt both among Armenian and non-Armenian circles.

Many non-Communist Armenians, for instance, who for long years received their information about the Dashnaks from colored non-Dashnak sources, and who were prejudiced against the Dashnaks, thanks to the

reversed political climate of the past few years, have had an opportunity to become acquainted with Dashnak publications, have read the proof they offer, and if they have not become outright friends, at least they have ceased being enemies of the Dashnaks. They are also influenced by the opinion of non-Armenians who know that the only consistent and unyielding foe of Communism among the Armenians is the Armenian Revolutionary Federation and who have evaluated the Federation's role in the struggle for Armenia's liberation by reading the aforesaid English publications.

The Federation's English language publications, no matter how impressive, naturally could not exert the powerful influence of the publications of the United States Congress, released by Kersten's Committee, the product of its research study of the Armenian Case and the story of the Soviet takeover of Armenia. When the United States Congress accepts and confirms a type of information which hitherto had been supplied by the Dashnak press, consistently contradicted by the anti-Dashnak press, naturally it cannot fail to have its effect even upon those Armenians who had never put any trust in any information or proof which emanated from the Dashnak press.

If these individuals who for years had been prejudiced against the Dashnaks, after seeing the stand of the United States Congress, cannot quite make an about face and join the Dashnaks, they at least feel compelled to put an end to their senseless enmity and to take more of an independent stand against fanatical anti-Dashnaks. This is the reason why of late the number of so-called neutrals has multiplied among the Armenians.

The circumstances of the division of the Armenian church is another case in point. When approximately twenty years ago the American Armenian church was divided, a large number of individuals who until then had been friendly to the Dashnaks, willing-

ly or unwillingly, joined the anti-Dashnak faction of the Armenian church. This they did because Etchmiadzin, under the pressure of the Soviet Government, officially recognized only the anti-Dashnak faction of the church. With the change of American policy toward the Soviet, it is naturally unpopular to belong to a church which is controlled by the Soviet, especially when there is another church, identical in creed, which the Soviet opposes, although this opposition is cloaked under the name of Etchmiadzin.

And now, this element which has never been really anti-Dashnak, and which even now is opposed to the Communists, naturally cannot put up with an abnormal situation in which, despite its political convictions, it finds itself in a church which is sponsored by the Soviet Government. Of late, this element has shown a sincere tendency for the restoration of the unity of the Armenian church, in an effort to shed off the odium of belonging to a church which is subject to Soviet influence.

These individuals who consider themselves anti-Communists in American life, and strive to take a neutral position among the Armenians, have begun to rear their heads against all those organizations which during the past twenty years have collaborated with anti-Dashnak and pro-Soviet organizations. It is the direct or indirect influence of these individuals which undoubtedly has become insistently perceptible of late among the anti-Dashnak faction of the Armenian church, the Compatriotic Unions, the Armenian General Benevolent Union, and the Knights of Vardan. It is these individuals who are doing their utmost for the restoration of the unity of the Armenian church, as well as to urge the abovementioned organizations to consolidate the national cause through the cooperation of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation.

Such a development naturally is unpalat-

able to Soviet agents who are highly displeased with the course of events in the American Armenian community and are doing their utmost to defeat the plan. This accounts for the resurgence of their old slanders against the Dashnaks and their desperate effort to hold on to their adherents who now have become recalcitrant.

National unity and cooperation among the Armenians of the world, American Armenians in particular, however, is impossible unless all Armenians who love freedom and democracy unite in their effort to nullify the disruptive activities of Soviet agents. It is high time all Armenians who are concerned with the cause of national unity understood once and for all that the chief cause of our division in the dispersion are the plottings of Soviet agents, and that, unless these agents are expelled, it will be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to restore national unity and cooperation in our churches, our schools, and our cultural endeavors, nor restore our normal relations in family and social life.

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation has always stood for national unity and cooperation. Despite its efforts of the past, however, the Federation cannot cooperate with individuals and factions which, knowingly or unknowingly, follow the anti-Dashnak and pro-Soviet policy as outlined by Soviet agents and their fellow travelers.

All those who to date have lingered in the anti-Dashnak camp and who sincerely wish to cooperate with the Dashnaks on a church and cultural level will greatly facilitate their task, and our task, if they will work with us to neutralize the Soviet agents in our communities and prevent them from exploiting the anti-Dashnak organizations to carry on their subversive activities.

National unity is highly desirable, is possible, and is an imperative necessity for the Armenians of abroad; but this cannot be accomplished *with* the Soviet agents and their fellow travelers, but *against* them.

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ARSHILE GORKY

KARLEN MOORADIAN

"Dear Vartoosh, I painted very long today. My knees are wobbly," Gorky wrote my mother April 10, 1938. "Had I known that painting was so exhausting I should not have chosen it as a career. But no matter, it must have been my destiny. I must have been born to it."

Today Arshile Gorky's greatness reaches preeminence. Clement Greenberg considers him the greatest painter in American history, and *Art News* of January 1951 disclosed "three is a growing group that considers him to be one of the greatest painters who ever picked up a brush in the Western Hemisphere."

Yet only the discerning appreciated Gorky's works during his lifetime. And so intense and deep in meaning are his paintings that until recently few persons, and among these only the educated, could fully comprehend them. But since his death in 1948, the sun at last has penetrated the clouds to cast light on his art.

"The greatest alla prima painter this country has produced," Ethel Schwabacher says of him. She has just completed a book on his life and works soon to be published.

Adolph Gottlieb describes his paintings as happy works; also melancholy, elegant, ordered, mysterious. "This sense of mystery and of order, is part of his polarity. These are the opposite poles in his work. Logic and irrationality; violence and gentleness; happiness and sadness; surrealism and abstraction.

"Out of these opposite elements I think Gorky evolved his style."

Famous French poet Andre Breton, a

leader of the surrealist movement and among the early few to recognize Gorky's initial genius, writes: "The eye spring . . . Arshile Gorky — for me the first painter to whom the secret has been completely revealed. . . Gorky is, of all surrealist artists, the only one who maintains direct contact with nature — sits down to paint before her. . . Here for the first time nature is treated as a cryptogram. . . Here is an art entirely new."

I last remember my uncle lowering his head as he entered the kitchen of our apartment in Chicago in 1941. He was a tall — 6 feet 4 inches — powerfully built, broad-shouldered man with athletic body and black hair and dark eyes; truly tall, dark, and handsome.

"Vy, Mougouch, vy," he laughed as he lifted me high in the air in his huge hands. I was always his favorite, therefore, entitled to the name "Mougouch."

He had just married Agnes Magruder in San Francisco and was visiting us on his return to New York City.

Impatient to see the Chicago Art Institute, Gorky displayed his characteristic individualism by walking the entire eight miles from our North Side apartment to the museum along the park-fringed Outer Drive. He liked the museum, but not Chicago.

Years later he sent me a book of Holbein's portraits and I enthusiastically sketched a few and sent him one, of which I was quite proud. Surely his comment would be very favorable I thought.

Gorky answered me with a beautiful Grecian portrait he drew with a single line, his comment on my sketch summing up one of his art philosophies contributing to his greatness.

"Mougouch," he wrote, "don't use so much shading when you draw.

"Simplicity is always best."

Gorky was born Vosdanig Manoog Adonian in Van, Khorkom Vari Haiyotz Dzor, on October 25, 1904 of pure Armenian parents. His father, Sedrag, also born there, was a prosperous farmer who raised wheat, fruit, sheep, and horses, and often transported lumber by boat across Lake Van to Aljevaz on the northern part of the Lake. Gorky's mother Shushanig Der Marderosian, was the beautiful daughter of the last of a long line of generations of Armenian Apostolic Church priests. She was born in Van, Vosdan, Gorky being named in honor of that region.

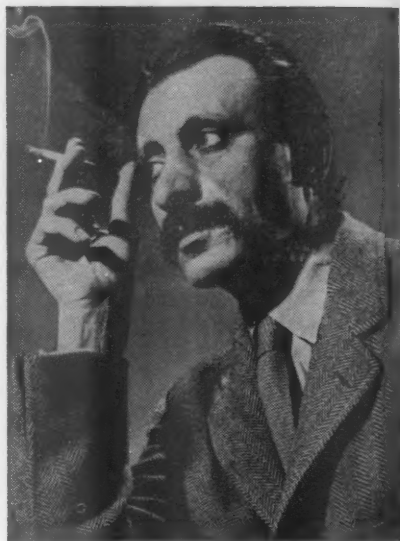
He had tall parents and relatives, and three sisters — Vartoosh, the youngest; and two older ones, Satenig and Akabe.

Gorky prided himself on descent from a Caucasian civilization built upon Sumerian foundations. Mountainous Van early inspired him.

From Khorkom he viewed the Island of Aghthamar with its old yet impressive church. And while he was still young, his mother moved the family to Aikesdan after his father had come to America to avoid the Turkish draft which threatened his people.

The Aikesdan region became a glimpse into a glorious past. Here were the cuneiform inscriptions of the ancient Vannic Emperors. Here also were the famed Rock of Van and the Semiramis river abundant with legends. And here, early mornings Gorky went to Varaga Vank (The Monastery of Varak) to watch sunrise — a beautiful experience — as the sun's rays filtered Varag's hills.

Such was the environment that so exalt-



THE LATE ARSHILE GORKY

ingly influenced his life and destined him to art. It was an environment he never forgot. For whatever other inspirations he received in later life, he was thoroughly "Vanzi Khai" and this Armenian heritage was his greatest driving force:

In Aikesdan, Gorky received high marks in school. He constantly drew and always carried a knife, and a piece of wood to carve and whittle. Young Gorky, his knife, and piece of wood were inseparable. And Armenian songs and dances left him beloved memories which were to appear frequently in his art.

Every night before bedtime he and his sisters knelt eastward and followed their devout mother in the Hair Mehr, crossing themselves before and after the prayer. Gorky was the man of the house now, so his mother placed him at her right. Being a priest's daughter she was a strict Armenian Christian, read only Grabar, and at-

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tended church every morning and evening. But during fasts she sometimes secretly brought Gorky food — but never to the girls — Gorky was a boy, and he was the favorite.

Gorky early loved athletics and after school often ran to Lake Van to swim with his friends. He became an expert swimmer and runner, and it was common to see him dashing home from a swim with his clothes dripping wet.

This pleasantness ceased.

His life proved a continuously bitter struggle, but he was always a fighter determined to realize his aim. An ordinary person instantly would have succumbed, but Gorky's great strength carried him to his destination.

Van Armenians repulsed the Turks in 1915 only to run out of ammunition and food and accept Russian escort to Erivan to save their families. The distance was nearly 125 miles, about equal to that from New York City to Wilmington, Del. They walked.

Eleven-year-old Gorky witnessed mankind's brutality — murder, rape, starvation, pillage, the uprooting of a noble race by the immature Turkish barbarian — a mankind with rewards for only the powerful and those who endured. His life was stained with hatred and sadness, and their combination affected him.

They arrived first at Holy Etchmiadzin and slept in the holy cathedral's "bak" for three weeks. Gorky saw thousands of his countrymen turning black and dying of cholera — mounds of bodies had to be buried to prevent spread of disease.

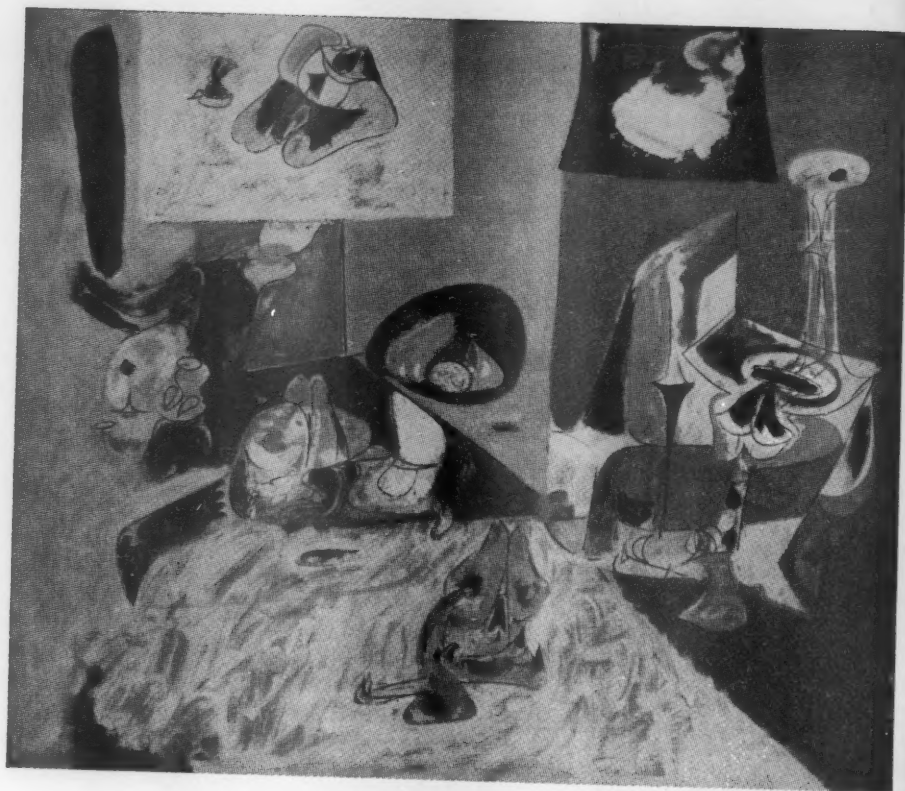
Many Armenian refugees wandered homeless through Erivan. Gorky and the family slept in front of Sourb Sargis' door a week until mother Shushanig found a room on Vagzali street where they stayed a few months before taking a room on Katanovsky street near St. Boghos Bedros.



THE ARTIST AND HIS MOTHER
(Whitney Museum of Art)

At this point Gorky's two older sisters left for America, so now only Shushanig and her young children, Gorky and Vartoosh, remained. Shushanig worked in the American Orphanage, and Gorky attended Temagan school until 1918, meanwhile working after school at the Orphanage's carpenter shop and also in a printing shop. August 1918 they moved to nearby Shahab village for three months, their sole livelihood depending on a mule Gorky bought. Each day he traveled to Erivan with the animal to buy grapes and the like to sell. When it starved to death they returned to Erivan in 1918 and got a very small room with a leaky ceiling.

Shushanig became sick and could not work; Vartoosh worked at the Orphanage; and Gorky carved hair combs from animals bones and bound books for printers. So little food was there at this time that they could not even find wild grasses to eat. By March 1919 mother Shushanig died from hunger. Young Gorky, 14, and his



THE CALENDARS
(Collection of Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller)

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even younger sister Vartoosh, 12, were alone and bewildered now.

Barefooted and in rags they reached Tiflis with the help of a close Vanetzi friend, Kerza Dikran. In the Georgian capital, another Vanetzi, Mardiros Sahagian, greatly helped them — giving food and clothing and encouragement to come to America.

So a few weeks later, America their destination, they departed for Batum with Kerza Dikran's aid again, and waited two weeks for a boat to Constantinople. In Istanbul they stayed in Haidar Pasha for six months until they received money from their father in America to come there.

Gorky, 16, and Vartoosh, 14, arrived at Ellis Island alone on March 1, 1920. They were frightened and unhappy, even wished to return. Their large patriarchal family and possessions were no more; they had had much in Van, now nothing; they had suffered hunger and cold, and the emotional shock of seeing their mother and thousands of other Armenians die; and now they were in a country whose language they could not speak or understand.

Brother and sister left New York for Watertown, Mass., where their older sisters lived. Both began work at the Hood Rubber factory there. However, Gorky sketched so much on the frames where shoe soles are placed, that he was fired for fear of ruining frames by his continual drawing.

After visiting Providence, R. I., which he disliked and where he stayed with his father and attended high school, he returned to Boston. He read profusely and so constantly frequented museums that his friends thought him foolish to "waste" so much time instead of getting steady work. The Majestic theater offered him work and he drew pictures of five Presidents on the stage, a minute each. Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Bijur, art connoisseurs, sensing Gorky's

determination advised him to go to New York, the American art center.

In 1925 Gorky, 21, came to New York and lived in a studio on Sullivan street near Washington Square. By now he was known as Arshile Gorky, a Russian variant he liked to say, which meant "strong bitterness." He kept this studio until 1930, then moved to a large studio at 36 Union Square which he kept the rest of his life.

Entering the Grand Central School of Art in October 1925 his great talent so struck Edmund Greacen, director of the school, that he immediately made Gorky teacher of the sketch class. Next year Greacen gave him an antique class and a life class to teach. Gorky taught life drawing and painting there until the end of the 1930-1 term. He was a popular teacher but left to devote more time to painting. From 1926 to 1936 he also taught private pupils in his studio. Among his private students were Hans Burkhardt, Nathan Bijur, Ethel Schwabacher, and Minna Metzger.

Completely self-taught, Gorky learned art by his own drawing and painting and observation. He haunted museums, galleries, art bookshops, constantly absorbed in past and present art.

"I like Uccello," he said, "and that man Pablo Picasso."

Usually impecunious, Gorky was so dedicated to his art that he sacrificed food to buy painting materials instead. While painting he often sang Armenian songs, "Bardsr Sarer" and other Hovhannes Toumanian songs being his favorites. His early friends included Isamu Noguchi, Raphael Soyer, Bernard Davis, Sidney Janis, Saul Schary, John D. Graham, Stuart Davis, William Muschenheim, David Burliuk, Willem deKooning, Nicolai Cikovsky, and Frederick J. Kiesler.

From 1920 to 1925 Gorky's works were forceful, monochrome, blunt. After 1925

he replaced his earlier stresses on parts of a whole with the whole itself, his style retaining three-dimensional qualities. He admired the large eyes and long necks of Armenians. A portrait of Vartoosh depicts Caucasian melancholy. And the culmination of his early period remains *The Artist and His Mother* inspired from an old photo of his mother and himself as a boy in Van. Here Shushanig, sad and calm, waits quietly, her hands patient against fate. Young Gorky modestly stands at her side holding a bouquet, his eyes wide open yet gazing inward in brooding silence.

Gorky's production was always enormous, yet each work had dynamicism and depth.

"You know how fussy and particular I am in painting," he wrote. "I am ever removing the paint and repainting the spot until I am completely exhausted."

Twenty-three year old Gorky in 1927 experimented with cubism.

"Has there in six centuries been better art than cubism?" he then remarked. "No! Centuries will go past — artists of gigantic stature will draw positive elements from cubism."

Cubism dealt with "the supernatural world behind reality where once the great centuries danced," Gorky stressed.

He now concentrated on form and structure, "disciplining his emotions in the rigors of cubist ideology." His canvas became a two-dimensional plane. Gorky's still lifes, 1927 to 1932, show musical instruments, fruit, palettes and plaster heads as flattened-out shapes paralleling the surface. The object was dissected, then rearranged. His colors varied from earthy dark tones to powerful fierce tones in the later pictures. Outlines of strong shapes are "razor-fine," but never mechanical — Gorky "hated the very mention of drawing with a ruler."

The 1929 depression hit Gorky so hard that unable to afford painting materials, he

was forced, about 1932, to work for a long time mainly on a series of drawings with pen and ink, even pencil. These independent composition drawings related to a panel series which he later did in oil, now lost.

Not yet affiliated with surrealism, Gorky showed signs of the beginnings of surrealism in these drawings.

They presented "symbols of tangible spaces," he said, and living elements realizing "the new visions of our time."

Many of these exact images of dream-world visions had beginnings in Gorky's childhood.

Gorky, 1933 to 1936, entered a "new period of formal discipline," painting large canvases, purely abstract and geometrical, usually with white background — especially evident in *Organization*.

Near the start of 1936 we stayed with Gorky at his New York studio. One morning — I was ten months old at the time — I got up early and wandered to his picture *Organization* which rested against a wall, stood staring at it, then playfully began marking it up and down with paint with a paintbrush I had found nearby.

"O, what have you done, Mougouch," he called out when he saw me. "Why did you do that," he smiled and lifted me up and hugged me.

In five minutes I had nearly ruined a work he had spent years on. Gorky could smile at setbacks though, and later managed to restore the painting.

Gorky's finished paintings had great weight because of the large amounts of paint he used.

"Persons uninformed about this," quips Stuart Davis, "would innocently approach a canvas to heft it at his invitation. Members of the weaker sex and anemic men would retreat from the dangerous experi-

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ence with minor but none the less painful sprains and bruises."

Gorky was physically strong and knew it, Davis adds. Challenged to a wrestling match by a strong friend of Davis, Gorky immediately stripped to the waist and easily defeated him.

Another time Davis had to vacate his attic. The truck men removed everything except a gigantic heavy trunk.

"They just wouldn't carry it out," says Davis. "The situation was solved by Gorky, who put it on his back and carried it down four flights of stairs to the sidewalk."

Abandoning geometric purism, Gorky advanced toward surrealism in 1936, his forms becoming more organic and symbolic. His great oils of the period include *Enigmatic Combat* (1936), the four *Khor-kom* versions, and *Garden in Sochi* (1941). Because he had full control of unconscious material he was "too surrealist for those who do not like surrealism, and not surrealist enough for those who do."

Poverty forced Gorky to join the Federal Art Project of the WPA in 1935 to execute murals. Originally intended for Floyd Bennett Field these murals were later completed for the Newark Airport. Entitled, *Aviation: Evolution of Forms under Aerodynamic Limitations*, they comprised ten large panels covering 1,530 square feet. Designs for them were exhibited by the Museum of Modern Art in 1936, "New Horizons in American Art."

On April 10, 1938 Gorky wrote my mother that his work had been published in Paris' world famous art magazine, *Cahiers d'Art*.

"As for my exhibit which the Modern Museum has sent to Paris," he added, "the Parisian papers have given very favorable notices of my works, saying in effect, that Arshile Gorky is the most original painter in America today."

In the same year Gorky was commis-

sioned to produce two large murals for the Aviation Building at the World's Fair in New York. And in 1941 he executed a final set of murals for Ben Marden's Riviera night club at Fort Lee, N. J., on the New Jersey Palisades.

"We all dream," Gorky explained, "and in this common denominator of everyone's experience I have been able to find a language for all to understand."

But Gorky's murals at the Newark Airport and the World's Fair have disappeared, all efforts to recover them having failed. Only the Ben Mardin murals and a few sketches and photographs remain.

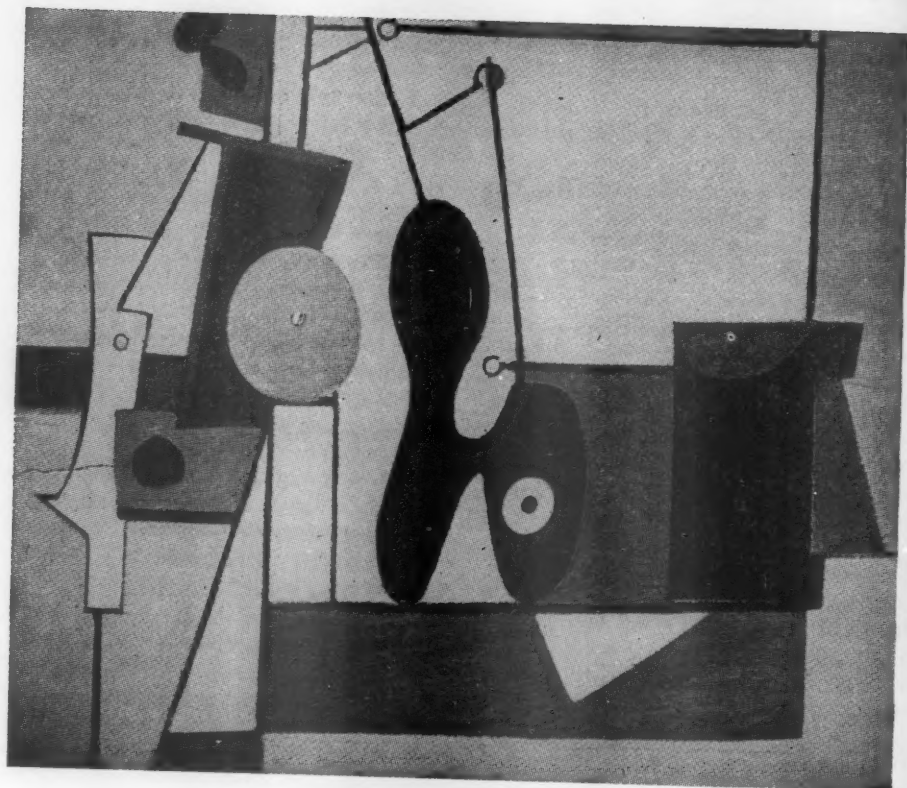
From 1940 on, many advanced writers and artists became his friends. Some of these were Andre Breton, Max Ernst, Jeanne Reynal, Margaret La Farge Osborn, Alexander Calder, Yves Tanguy, and Matta Echaurren.

Gorky was a poet and used surrealism as a vehicle to express poetical inspiration. His art evokes four levels: senses, psyche, historic past, and universal level of epic symbolism. Visible, and dark invisible worlds of the unconscious interested him.

About 1942 he used a fast procedure to catch thought at its quick, undeterred by slow logic. Links in the chain of thought were purposely left out to force the viewer to give more attention.

"Keys to an understanding of his later paintings," Schwabacher writes, "may be found if we remember that he worked on several levels at once, responding to the stimulant of the immediate outside world of nature, to anterior impressions of the Caucasus, to memories of past and present art, and to deep suggestions of the dreamworld or collective unconscious."

After his marriage in 1941 two daughters were born: Maro in April 1943, Natasha in August 1945. Gorky increasingly spent more time in the country, and consequently na-



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(Estate of Arshile Gorky)

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ture and landscape motifs entered part of his art.

At his wife's parent's farm in Hamilton, Va., during the summer of 1943, Gorky created many drawings in pencil and colored crayon — "lyrical explosions."

"Gorky's latest work shows his realization of the value of literally returning to the earth," James Johnson Sweeney wrote.

New developments in imagery and style began appearing in his drawings, later in his paintings.

In 1944, Gorky elaborating on the previous summer's drawings, produced bold paintings with rich colors, great imagery, extremes of moods.

His most famous work of the year was *The Liver is the Cock's Comb*, which Breton says "should be considered the great open door to the world of analogy."

Gorky stressed white, gray, and black, with some strong colors in most 1944 to 1946 paintings. Tones were sheer; isolated shapes revolved independently and produced islands. Such a great yet accurate master of the liquid and lightning-fast black line was Gorky, that "musicians and mathematicians were fascinated by his work because of his ability to achieve this high level of abstraction, the clarity of mathematical equations nevertheless infused with poetry." This poetry took the form of cryptogram.

"I never put a face on an image," Gorky then said.

In *Diary of a Seducer* (1945), a grisaille painting treating deep nature, Gorky uses sadness to strengthen cognition. Bordering between worlds of waking and sleeping, and life and death, the quiet loneliness of the black wasteland gives an icy effect. A man peers over the cliff's edge into the abyss, and realizes the beauty of what he visions forever losing.

Gorky missed Armenian foods and his wife learned to prepare them.

"Will you write out in very plain letters," he asked my mother July 4, 1945, "the recipes for making Jelbour and also Vrosh as they used to make them back home in Van."

Because of his love for nature Gorky had rented a farm house and studio in hilly western Connecticut. But misfortune awaited.

"Ten days ago a fire starting in the chimney of my studio in Sherman, Conn.," he wrote my mother February 5, 1946, "destroyed everything I had there: paintings, drawings, sketches, and books, all were burned to ashes, not a thing was salvaged."

Stoically he said, "Sometimes it is very good to have everything cleaned out like that, and be forced to begin again."

A month later cancer struck him and he underwent a serious operation. This was a blow to his pride, a pride he had for his strong body.

Gorky fought. In the next two years his enormous creativity was unparalleled. He made this period become the period of his largest production and finest artistic achievement of his whole life.

"This summer I finished a lot of drawings — 292 of them," he wrote from Virginia in the fall of 1946. "Never have I been able to do so much work, and they are good, too." He would paint all day until three or four o'clock in the morning.

Next summer he worked in his New York studio. A group of huge paintings mostly completed in 1947 attain unequaled freedom and richness, and vary from great emotion to strict order. *Agony* treats intense passion; *The Orators*, wit and fantasy; *The Betrothal I* and *The Betrothal II*, perfection; *The Plow and the Song*, fertilization and birth; *Dark Green Painting*, hermetism; *Last Painting*, despair and death.

In December 1947 the family moved to Sherman. Misfortune again awaited.

In July of the following year his neck

was broken and his painting arm paralyzed from an automobile accident. Cancer and the accident caused him to end his life July 21, 1948.

"He was well aware that he was at the height of his artistic powers and growing every year," Lloyd Goodrich writes. "His death before he had reached forty-four was a tragic loss to the art of America and the world."

New York, San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Minneapolis, among American cities, have extensively exhibited his art. His works are now valued at least ten times as high as in 1948 and are still rising.

"The late Arshile Gorky . . . was . . . original by mere virtue of his gifts," writes Clement Greenberg. "They were such as no other painters in this country could equal. . . In many ways Gorky was a better handler of brush and paint than any one he was radically influenced by, including Picasso and Miro."

His posthumous Kootz Gallery exhibition (April 1949) "was the most brilliant and consistent show by an American artist that I have ever seen," he adds, "and I say this advisedly. I now find Gorky a better painter than Ryder, Eakins, Homer, Cole, Allston, Whistler, or any other American one can mention. . .

"We have had to catch up with Gorky and learn taste from him."

The New Yorker calls him "a precursor.

He was one of the first men in this country to try to combine the abstract concept with Expressionist feeling."

Gorky's biographer, Ethel Schwabacher says of his works: "The wealth of invention shown in subtle metamorphoses of forms and images is fantastic. . . His art achieved a synthesis of old world and new world. His contribution was to add new depths of emotion to the twentieth-century vision, to enlarge it with a mysticism more characteristic of the East than the West, and to bring it through exquisite craftsmanship to a highly individual perfection. In the end, having drawn on past and present, he created myths which would live in the future."

The art world recognizes Gorky as a genius, and had he lived past the young age of 43, the greatness of this proud self-made Armenian who suffered more than anyone and was appreciated mainly after his early death, would have been even more unlimited than it is now.

Gorky rests in a beautifully quiet, isolated, churchyard near a small white colonial church among the green hills of Sherman he loved so much.

The sepulchre is unpretentious. But that is only as the Metz Mougouch would have wanted it.

"Simplicity is always best."



THE PARROT AND THE BURGLAR

P. K. THOMAJAN

A parrot! A parrot! A parrot! That was what Bobby Bemis wanted most for his birthday. You see, he had no brother or sister and he kept telling his mother and father, "I just have to have someone to talk to when I'm lonesome, someone who'll be a pal like a parrot, for instance."

"Well, you'll have to wait, son," said his father, "you know they're kind of expensive birds, the good ones."

"Suppose, I get one very cheap?" asked Bobby, "will you buy it for me then?"

"Perhaps I might, if it's a real bargain," answered Mr. Bemis, "but to me a parrot is a sheer waste of good money. A little yellow canary would please me much more for it would sing and we wouldn't have to listen to a lot of squaking."

That afternoon, Bobby visited the Paradise Pet Shop, which was run by Marty Jones, a very kind man. If he only had the money, Bobby would have bought every pet in the place, but all he heard in his pockets was the jingle of a few pennies, which wouldn't make even a down payment.

"Mister Jones," said Bobby, "my dad told me that he might buy me a parrot for my birthday, which happens to be tomorrow, if you can let me have one at a very very special price."

Now Marty Jones had quite a liking for Bobby, and you could see that he was trying to find some way of making his young friend happy on his birthday. Suddenly

his face lit up as if he hit on an idea. "Bobby, my boy," he said, "I think you're in luck. A dandy parrot came in the other day and it's just the thing you want. He's perfect except that he has one bad eye and he's educated like all my birds — a regular diploma goes with him guaranteeing that he knows at least twenty-five amusing sentences. Because of this little defect, you can have Mokko for a mere ten dollars — why, for that money, you couldn't even buy a good canary."

Bobby was overjoyed. As he went near Mokko, he chirped up with, "Hello, Pal!" Immediately, Bobby knew that this was his bird. "Ok," he replied, "I'm taking Mokko home with me right now and Dad will pay you." Marty Jones nodded his head that this would be alright, put Mokko in a cardboard box punched with holes, patted Bobby on the back and smiled, "Happy birthday" as his young friend made a bee-line for home. "Look, look, look," he cried out to his mother, the moment he dashed through the door, "I've got it, and what a bargain!"

Of course, Mrs. Bemis couldn't help but fall in love with Mokko the moment he blurted out, "I'm going to like you very much." Then she turned to Bobby and asked, "I don't know if your father is going to approve of your buying a parrot without his permission, even though you got it for a bargain." "Oh, don't you worry, mother," said Bobby, "you remember your once

telling me that whenever you want something real bad, something good always happens?"

Mrs. Bemis smiled when Bobby made this reminder to her. "Thanks for telling me that," she told Bobby, "I think everything will turn out alright." That afternoon, Bobby had the time of his life, getting acquainted and getting Mokko adjusted. From the attic, he brought down an old parrot cage that had been there for years and years and it suited Mokko perfectly. Mrs. Bemis and Bobby both decided that the best place for Mokko would be in the parlor, where he could meet everyone and salute them with his cute, "How doodle-you-dol!"

Bobby was amazed at all the smart remarks Mokko had on the tip of his tongue. He would say such startling things as. . . "You can't get away with that". . . "I wouldn't do that if I were you". . . "Scram!" . . . and if you didn't know that it was Mokko talking, you would have been certain that these words came from a human being.

Soon . . . zero hour . . . six o'clock rolled around and Mr. Bemis was home from work. When he heard Mokko's greeting of "How doodle-you-dol!" he stopped dead in his tracks.

"What's that?" he asked of Mrs. Bemis.

"Oh," she answered with a smile, "that's Mokko just trying to say hello to you."

"Mokko, who's Mokko!" exclaimed Mr. Bemis as he stormed into the parlor and saw Bobby's new parrot, who quickly spoke out, "I'm going to like you very much."

But these kind words did not melt Mr. Bemis' anger, who turned to Bobby and said, "Son, you had no right to buy this parrot without first asking me."

Then Bobby replied, "Well, dad, you kind of said if I got one real cheap, it might be alright. Marty Jones let me have this parrot for only ten dollars because it had one bad eye, and can he talk, why he's worth many times that price."

Now Mr. Bemis was fuming, "That one-eyed pirate will never sell me a parrot for ten dollars," he remarked.

"Very well, my dear," interrupted Mrs. Bemis, "if that's the way you feel about it, Bobby will return the parrot tomorrow."

That night you could hear a pin drop at the Bemis dinner table — no one said a word, except Mokko who kept whistling and muttering to himself, "Ah, life can be beautiful" which made Mr. Bemis madder than a hornet. Bobby went to bed very early, and never had he faced such an unhappy birthday. Then just as he was about to fall asleep, his mother entered his room and whispered, "Just remember, Bobby, what you told me — 'when you want something very bad, something good always happens' — I'll be praying for you, as always." Those gentle words kissed Bobby off to sleep.

Late that night, when all was quiet, a burglar broke into the Bemis house. He went for the most valuable thing — the silverware, which was kept in the dining room, close to the parlor.

Just as the burglar was taking the silverware from the china closet, he heard a sharp voice speak out of the dark. . . "I wouldn't do that if I were you". . . "Stick 'em up!" In terror, the burglar dropped everything and fled out of the house. Then Mokko started to scream, "Police! Police! Police!"

The sounding of this parrot alarm woke up the entire Bemis family. Mrs. Bemis was first on the scene and she almost fainted when she saw the open door and the opened drawers of her china closet. Then Bobby and Mr. Bemis appeared. In the excitement, Mokko kept saying, "Keep cool, everybody."

As Mr. Bemis looked around and checked everything, he remarked to Bobby, "It seems to me that your Mr. Mokko foiled that robber and he left everything including this fine bag of tools. In fact, I think I could use some of these right around the

house. What's happened has changed my mind about several things. You can tell your Mokko that he can consider himself a lifetime member of the Bemis family. Now, here, take this ten dollar bill and see that Marty Jones gets paid."

Bobby grabbed the money without a

word and made tracks toward the Paradise Pet Shop.

As she looked off after Bobby, disappearing in the distance, Mrs. Bemis repeated to herself, "Well, when you want something bad, something good really does happen." To which sharp-eared Mokko added, "You can say that again!"

RACE TO HEAVEN

*How long and far can we run?
We run to work and play,
And try to outlive life,
Which only He can do.*

*We possess an innate trait,
Speed — for accomplishing things
Of greatness and things of shame.
We die. The good things we do
Reflect on our souls —
And still we run some more.*

*We are then admitted into
The promised Land of Plenty.
Shall we enter? No —
We shall run and run some more;
But now we are blind and cannot visualize
The crossroads.
We track at amazing speeds
But in vain, for we select
The wrong road. Oh God!
How slowly do we now run!*

CARL LEON ZEYTOONIAN

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION — AN INTERNATIONAL ISSUE

RITA ADELE JERREHIAN

Though the Armenian question has existed for many centuries it was not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century that it became an international issue. A serious and difficult problem which has long troubled the conscience of civilized nations, the Armenian question occupied international diplomacy in the Near East for almost fifty tragic years before it was abandoned, remaining to this day unsolved.

Armenia's significant location on the most coveted of world highways and trade routes, the bridge joining the Occident and the Orient, had caused her to be trampled by devastating armies and migrating hordes. Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Romans, Parthians, Greeks, and Arabs had been among those who had conquered, ruled, and divided the Armenia which during the course of her long history had existed within shifting borders. The last Armenian kingdom came to an end in 1375, when Cilicia fell into the hands of the Mamelukes. * Armenian hopes of regaining national independence were shattered by the rise of a new power in Asia, the Ottoman Turks. As part of the general Ottoman expansionist movement which followed the capture of Constantinople in 1453 and the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman Turks turned to the task of gaining control of Asia Minor. The last remnant of Armenia was finally conquered by

the Ottoman invaders in 1514.¹ It is with this coming of the Armenian nation under Ottoman domination that the story of the Armenian tragedy begins.

Armenia was the scene of battle in the seventeenth century when it was partitioned between Turkey and Persia and in the nineteenth century when as a result of wars fought with Persia and Turkey on Armenian soil, portions of Caucasian Armenia were obtained by Russia. In the guise of a power friendly to Armenia, Russia gained the support of the semi-independent Armenian princes in defeating the Persians in 1828 by dangling "autonomy" before the Armenians.² By the Treaty of Turkmanchai much of Persian Armenia became Russian. Russia added to these acquisitions by the war she waged concurrently with Turkey, establishing Russian rule of the area of Armenia north of the Araxes River.³ Once Russia obtained this footing in Armenian territory, however, nothing came of her promises of an Armenian kingdom. Thus in the nineteenth century Armenia was territorially divided among Russia, Asiatic Turkey, and Persia. But it was in Turkish Armenia that the Armenian

¹ H. Pasdermadjian, *Histoire de l'Arménie depuis les origines jusqu'au traité de Lausanne*, Paris, 1949, p. 274.

² Diana Apcar, *On the Cross of European Imperialism Armenia Crucified*, Yokohama, 1918, p. 12.

³ Simon Vratzian, *Armenia and the Armenian Question*, Boston, 1943, p. 6.

* Kevork Aslan, *Armenia and the Armenians from the Earliest Times until the Great War* trans. Pierre Crabites, New York, 1920, p. 99.

question was to arise as an international issue.

The Christian minorities held an anomalous position in the Ottoman Empire. Faced with the complex economic and political problem of ruling an immense conglomerate empire, Sultan Mohammed II did not attempt to assimilate the great masses of Christian subjects by conversion, but allowed them a certain autonomy under the administrative system of "millets" or "nations." In the domain of "national," religious, and educational affairs, the Christian populations of the Ottoman Empire were to come under the jurisdiction of the Greek Patriarch, a jurisdiction to be shared in 1461 by the Armenian Patriarch and in 1870 by the Bulgarian Patriarch.⁴ Thus, the Christians were able to preserve their religious and cultural institutions. Forbidden to enter military service or to bear arms and forced to pay heavy taxes, the Christian communities turned to agriculture, commerce, industry, and the various trades. The Turks made full use of the ability of the Christians, especially that of the Armenians, to make vital contributions in these fields to the development of the Empire and even allowed a few to attain high positions in the Ottoman government.

The misgovernment and oppression of the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire came about largely through the incapacity rather than the brutality of the Ottoman government. Despite their apparent privileged positions, the Christians periodically suffered persecutions, despoliations, and massacres at the fanatic hands of their non-Christian neighbors unrestrained by the ruling government, especially during periods of warfare.

Though sympathetic to the plight of the Armenians and indignant at Turkish mis-

rule, the civilized Christian nations of Europe made no attempt to interfere to protect the rights of the Christian minorities. The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji of 1774, however, marked a decisive turning-point in the decline of Turkish power. The Ottoman Empire promised to give better government to the Christian minorities in Wallachia, Moldavia, and Greece, and to grant Russia the right to act as protector of the Orthodox Christians in the Empire.⁵ In the nineteenth century the drama of attempts to impose reforms began. The *Hatti-Sherif of Gulhane* of 1839 professed the principle of life, honor, and property, and regularized the system of taxation as well as providing other reforms. Decrees issued in 1847, 1850 and 1853 referred to the protection of the Christians. And in 1856 the *Hatti Humayoun* gave complete legal rights and duties to the Christians. Following this concession by the Ottoman government, the Powers renounced their right of intervention either by collective or individual action in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire.⁶ All of the above

⁵ The treaty provided for a Russian embassy at Constantinople whose staff was to be protected (Art. 5, 6, 9), for a new Greek Orthodox Church at Galata, for it to be under the protection of the Minister who could make claims to the Porte (Art. 7, 14), for the Porte to protect the Christian religion and churches (Art. 7) and to permit pilgrimages. There was to be toleration of the Christians, respect toward the clergy, future good treatment, and moderate taxation. Each province was to be represented at the Porte by a (Greek) charge d'affaires. Claims made on behalf of the principalities and the Archipelago were to be taken into friendly consideration by the Porte (Art. 16, 17). (Thomas Erskine Holland, *A Lecture on the Treaty Relations of Russia and Turkey from 1774 to 1853*. Delivered at Oxford April 28, 1887. London, 1887, 28 pp., Treaty of 1774; pp. 18-88) Russia was to interpret an intervention right in one church as a right in behalf of the Greek Church in Turkey generally.

⁶ Article 9 of the Treaty of Paris of March 30, 1856, General Treaty between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey for the reestablishment of Peace (*British and Foreign State Papers*, 46: 8-18 (1855-56)). In a tripartite agreement of April 15, 1856 at Paris, Great Britain, Austria, and France agreed to up-

⁴ Andre Mandelstam, *La Societe des Nations et les Puissances devant le probleme armenien*, Paris, 1926, p. 3.

reform decrees, however, remained dead letters.

Though the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 and the Treaty of Paris in 1856 had contained provisions for the protection of the Christian peoples of Turkey, the Treaty of San Stefano was the first international treaty to mention the protection of the Armenians.⁷ A revival of national sentiment had taken place following the granting of an Armenian National Constitution in 1863 and the establishment of an Armenian National Assembly. The cause of the Armenians was persistently but vainly pleaded by Khrimian Hairig, the Armenian Patriarch, before the Turkish Sultan.⁸ Though the liberal movement of Midhat Pasha and threatened Great Power intervention had brought about the promulgation of the Turkish Constitution of 1876,⁹ it was soon apparent that Abdul Hamid II did not intend to allow the promised reforms to be introduced and executed.¹⁰ The situation on the eve of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 was extremely difficult for the Armenians as well as for the other Christian nationalities. Having had no success in gaining an amelioration of their condition from their Turkish masters, the Armenians tried to present their claims at the diplomatic table of the international conference which met at Constantinople in a futile attempt to settle the Bulgarian question peaceably with the Turks. The Powers re-

fused to consider the Armenian complaints since the Conference was exclusively with the problem of the Balkans. Unable to secure an international hearing of their case, the Armenians then turned to Imperial Russia during the ensuing war to make their appeal. The Russian commander-in-chief, the Grand Duke Nicholas, favorably received the claims of the Armenians, and promised that the treaty of peace would provide guarantees for the Armenian population.¹¹

The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 had provided the Armenians with an opportunity for improving their position. At first the Turks had checked the Russian advance, but the prospects of victory soon changed in favor of the Russians. The Turks were not adverse to fulfilling the claims of the Armenians for reforms in Turkish Armenia nor to establishment of a certain administrative autonomy in the *vilayets* where the Armenians were in the majority, for by this arrangement Turkish sovereignty could still be maintained.

Russian intervention had been provoked when the Turkish government had instituted the Bulgarian massacres as a reaction to the Bulgarian movement for independence. Encouraged by the attitude of Benjamin Disraeli, the British Prime Minister, who tried to justify the Turkish action, Turkey refused to listen to Russian protests. Russia could not allow conditions to remain as they were. In an attempt to win British cooperation, the Russian Tsar declared November 2, 1876 that Russia had no imperialistic designs on India or Constantinople. It was in the interest of England as well as Russia to see that there was peace and an improvement in the position of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire, the Tsar argued. Russia had no wish to conquer and add territory to her own empire and deplored British distrust of her motives.

hold the independence and territorial integrity of Turkey (*Ibid.*, 46:25-6).

⁷ B. N. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans 1870-1937*, Oxford, 1937, p. 416.

⁸ Pasdermadjian, p. 313.

⁹ Justice without discrimination as to class was granted by the Turkish firman of Sept. 1, 1875, reforms in taxation by the Turkish Irade of Oct. 2, 1875, and administrative reforms by the Turkish firman of Dec. 12, 1875 (*British and Foreign State Papers*), 67: 1210-18 (1875-76). A Turkish Imperial Hatti of Sept. 10, 1876 ordered the establishment of a General Council and proclaimed the need for administrative, financial, and imperial reforms (*Ibid.*, 68: 807-09). Text of Turkish Constitution of 1876 (*Ibid.*, 67:683-98).

¹⁰ J. Missakian, *A Searchlight on the Armenian Question*, Boston, 1950, p. 6.

¹¹ Pasdermadjian, p. 354.

Though the European powers did not act in Russia's interest.

On January 23, 1878, the Russian Chancellor Gorchakov described the Armenian question as a matter of resistance to the demands of the Turkish government by the subjects of the Russian Empire. In 1875, the Russian government had agreed to the Berlin Conference, which had agreed to the Armenian question. The Armenian question was still a European question.

By the end of 1877, the Russian government had decided that if the Armenian question was not settled by the end of 1877, the Russian government would have to take action. The Russian government had decided to take action on the Armenian question by the end of 1877.

Russia had no wish to conquer and add territory to her own empire and deplored British distrust of her motives. The Russian government had decided to take action on the Armenian question by the end of 1877.

Though Russia would prefer to work with the European concert, if Europe would not act, the Tsar warned England, then Russia would intervene alone.¹²

On January 31, 1877, Prince Gorchakov, Chancellor of Russia, distributed a circular describing the new phase of the Eastern question which had come into being by the resistance of the Porte to European demands and emphasizing the need for action by the Concert of Powers to lead the Turkish government to govern her Christian subjects justly. The reform note of Count Andrassy of Austria of December 30, 1875¹³ was to be included as the base of action since all the Powers and the Porte had agreed to the propositions of the Austrian Foreign Minister though no effect had been given to them. The Memorandum of Berlin of May 18, 1876,¹⁴ an expansion of the Andrassy Note, had provided for eventual concert but there was not unanimous agreement. Then England had taken the initiative in calling for the Conference of Constantinople. However, Turkish misrule still continued, menacing the peace of Europe and the position of the Christians.

By the London Protocol of March 31, 1877 the Porte was asked to put the "necessary reforms" into effect, and was warned that if the condition of the Christian population was not improved, the Powers would consult on what action they might take.¹⁵ The Turks, confident that they could rely on British support in the last resort, rejected the Protocol.

Russia announced in a circular dated April 19, 1877 that Russian troops had

been ordered to cross the Turkish frontier. Since persuasion had not succeeded, the use of coercion was justified. Lord Derby's reply of May 1, 1877 expressed disapproval.¹⁶

Angered by the British refusal to join in the protection of the Christian populations, the Russians invaded Turkey. Italy declared her neutrality.¹⁷ By the secret Budapest agreement, the basis of which was later to be shattered,¹⁸ Russia was assured of the neutrality of Austria-Hungary, malevolent as it might be, in a war with Turkey. Russia relied on the rivalry between Disraeli and Gladstone in Great Britain to prevent British armed support of the Turks; though a Turkish note of April 24, 1877 protested the commencement of Russian hostilities without waiting for the mediation of the Signatories of the Treaty of Paris of 1856 as provided by Article 8, a British proclamation was made April 30, 1877 for the observance of neutrality in the war. A Cabinet decision made July 21, 1877, however, advocated the declaration of war in the event of Russian occupation of the city of Constantinople.

During the course of the war Armenia was once again the scene of battle and the victim of Turkish atrocities. The siege of Kars by Count Louis Loris Melikov, an Armenian general in the Russian army, had opened the campaign on the Asiatic front; the capture of this Armenian fortress was an important victory in the war.¹⁹ In Asiatic Turkey the war meant further suffering for the Armenians; the Armenian population was decimated by the massacres which were committed by Turkish irregular troops during the war. On the European front early Turkish victories had checked the Russians, but with the fall of Plevna in

¹² *British and Foreign State Papers*, 67: 1244-48.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 66: 921. Count Andrassy's program included the grant of complete religious freedom in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the abolition of the practice of tax-farming, the employment of local income for local requirements, and supervision of reforms by a mixed Christian-Moslem Commission which was to be created.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 67: 123. Reforms were to be supervised by the consuls of the powers.

¹⁵ *British and Foreign State Papers*, 68: 823-34.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 68: 840-41.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 68: 851

¹⁸ According to the agreement no large state was to be erected in the Balkans.

¹⁹ Apcar, p. 46.

December, 1877 the Russians resumed their advance and soon the walls of Constantinople were within reach. Turkey was actually considering extending autonomy on the high plateau of Armenia²⁰ to the Armenians when it was saved from annihilation by the arrival and intervention of the British fleet and by the declaration of British military support of Turkey. Doctor George Washburn, at that time the president of Robert College in Constantinople, commented in his book, *Fifty Years in Constantinople*:

It was with great difficulty that the Sultan was dissuaded from abandoning Constantinople and returning to Brousa. But for the arrival of the British fleet he would probably have gone and the Russians would have occupied the city.²¹

The Treaty of San Stefano was dictated to Turkey on March 3, 1878. It provided for the creation of a Great Bulgaria including Macedonia, for an independent Serbia, Roumania, and Montenegro, for the acquisition by Russia of Kars, Batoum, Ardahan, Bayazid, and Alashkerd in Armenia. The Russians planned to evacuate Erzeroum and other Armenian provinces which they had occupied during the war. However, in response to the Armenian appeal made to the Russian commander-in-chief at the beginning of the war, Article 16 was inserted in the treaty. It stated:

As the evacuation by the Russian troops of the territory which they occupy in Armenia, and which is to be restored to Turkey, might give rise to conflicts and complications detrimental to the maintenance of good relations between the two countries, the Sublime Porte undertakes to carry into effect, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security from Kurds and Circassians.²²

At San Stefano the Armenians had approached the Russian delegate, Count Igna-

tiev, with their request for Armenian autonomy in the *vilayets* of Sivas, Van, Moush, and Erzeroum, and for Russian occupation of these for a specified period of time. The article proposed by Count Ignatiev, however, included a provision for the recognition of the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, the ecclesiastic head of the Orthodox Armenians whose seat was in Russia, as the representative of all the Armenians. This aroused the Gregorian and Catholic Armenians to urge Turkish resistance to any mention of the Catholicos. On the insistence of the Turkish delegation, the words "improvements and reforms" were substituted for those of "administrative autonomy" and the vague terminology of the article given above was drafted and inserted in the treaty.²³ Although the article did not specify the type of reforms to be instituted, the provinces "inhabited by the Armenians" into which these reforms were to be introduced, nor the type of guarantees to protect the Armenians from the Kurds and Circassians, and although the article did not explicitly provide for Russian supervision or grant Russian rights of intervention, it was clear to the British that Russia had designs for extending her influence in Turkish Armenia.

European politics and policies were greatly disturbed by the situation in Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, Armenia and Crete. Russo-Austrian rivalry in the Near East had served up to this time to maintain the "status quo" which Great Britain was interested in preserving.²⁴ For over two centuries, British policy had been to safeguard the route to India. Russian interests had traditionally sought an outlet to the sea. By forcing an Ottoman guarantee of Armenian security against the Kurds and

²⁰ The Turkish portion of the high tableland of Armenia which rises abruptly on the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea, and the plains of Mesopotamia.

²¹ New York, 1909, p. xxii.

²² Preliminary Treaty of Peace between Russia

and Turkey signed at San Stefano, *British and Foreign State Papers*, 69: 737-38 (1877-78).

²³ Sumner, pp. 416-17.

²⁴ W. E. D. Allen, *The Turks in Europe*, London, 1919, p. 150.

Circassians, Russia could easily use the pretext of the protection of this Christian minority for future intervention in order to get closer to the south. Russia was not obligated to evacuate her forces, according to Article 16, until the reforms were executed. The reforms might never be executed. England was obsessed with the idea of stopping the progress of Russian expansion through control of the Armenian plateau by means of applying or supervising the application of the promised reforms.

The Turks bitterly resented the provision for Russian military occupation of Turkish Armenia until the full execution of reforms and immediately informed the Western powers, receiving their support in overthrowing the treaty.²⁵ Great Britain, urged on by the initiative of Austria-Hungary, insisted that a European Congress consider and revise the treaty, while Germany, bound by ties to Austria-Hungary, did not actively support Russia. In the face of Great Power opposition, Russia was forced to yield and plans were made to hold the Peace Conference in Berlin.

Before the opening of the Congress on June 13, 1878, however, the British took advantage of the popularity they had gained as a result of their determined opposition to Russian ambitions, and entered into secret negotiations with the Turks, concluding the Convention of Defensive Alliance or Cyprus Convention directed against Russia. Its substantive article provided:

If Batoum, Ardahan, Kars or any of them, shall be retained by Russia, and if any attempt shall be made at any future time by Russia to take possession of any future territories of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan in Asia, as fixed by the Definitive Treaty of Peace, England engages to join His Imperial Majesty the Sultan in defending them by force of arms.

In return, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan promises to England to introduce necessary reforms, to be agreed upon later between

the two Powers, into the government and for the protection of the Christians and other subjects of the Porte in these territories; and in order to enable England to make necessary provision for executing her engagement, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan further consents to assign the Island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England.²⁶

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, Sir Henry Layard, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, had drawn the attention of the British government to the significance of the recent Russian conquests in Turkish Armenia. In a dispatch dated May 30, 1877 he commented:

Should Russia desire to annex at this time any of the European provinces of Turkey, European interests would probably be called into play, and she would be prevented from carrying out her intentions . . . but, as regards the acquisition by her of territory in Asia Minor, the case is different. It would probably signify little to the rest of Europe whether Russia retained Armenia or not. But England has to consider the effect of the annexation to Russia of this important province upon the British possessions in India.²⁷

The following year, Lord Salisbury wrote to Sir Henry Layard the Russian retention of Kars, Batoum, and Ardahan, and the other Armenian provinces which she occupied would influence the disintegration of Asiatic Turkey. In order to maintain the stability of Ottoman rule, force of arms would be necessary; the island of Cyprus would be the best available source of operations. The British Ambassador was to make arrangements with the Turks for British use of the island base. The British Foreign Minister added that if Russia were to surrender the territory, the stipulations of the Convention would cease to operate.²⁸

It was at the request of Turkey that the negotiations for the secret Cyprus Convention were undertaken, but the accord which was signed on June 14, 1878 clearly reveals

²⁶ Convention of Defensive Alliance between Great Britain and Turkey signed at Constantinople June 4, 1878, *British and Foreign State Papers*, 69: 745-46.

²⁷ Quoted by P. Tonapetian, "Armenia in the Wheel of British Policy," *New Europe*, 13: 370 (January 1, 1920).

²⁵ Sumner, p. 419. The British officially learned of the treaty March 23, 1878. On April 1, 1878 Lord Salisbury issued a circular stating his objections to the treaty.

the self-interest which motivated British support of Turkey. Russia would not be permitted to retain or extend the rights of her victory. As the price of British military guarantee of the territorial integrity of Turkey, the island of Cyprus was to be placed under British occupation and administration. This was a strategic gain for Great Britain who thus acquired a base in the Eastern Mediterranean which would act to protect the Suez Canal.²⁰

Publication was to be delayed until the question of the Russian and Asiatic settlement had been made, but leaks had already occurred. There were indications, however, that Russian retention of Kars, Batoum, and Ardahan was likely; and the Sultan was at last ready to issue the Firman authorizing the British occupation of the island. To dispel any French suspicions as to British motivation, Lord Salisbury sent the text of the defensive alliance together with an explanatory note to M. Waddington on July 6, 1878, a few days before the Convention was made public. Austria had been willing to take part only to a certain degree and only in the European settlement, and France had declared her neutrality under the Treaty of Paris of 1856, he declared. As regards the Asiatic conquests of Russia, England could rely only upon herself. The reconquest of Kars, Batoum, and Ardahan would be a futile undertaking even with the support of the other Powers. However, England could not allow Western Asia to be threatened by Russia; British interest in this area was a vital one. Therefore, England had concluded the defensive alliance with Turkey. The great distance of Malta made it impracticable to perform England's military obligations from that British naval base. Lord Salisbury pointed out that Egypt or the Suez Canal itself might have been chosen, but were not considered out

²⁰ *British and Foreign State Papers*, 69: 1342-45.
²⁰ Henry C. Cumming, *Franco-British Rivalry in the Post War Near East*, New York, 1938, p. 7.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR



RITA A. JERREHIAN

Miss Rita Adele Jerrehian, whose article on these pages comprehends her first REVIEW contribution, attended H. C. Lea School and Philadelphia High School for Girls, and graduated in 1954 from Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., as an International Relations major. She was the recipient of a Gold Medal Award at the 45th annual ASA Convention, and, at the present time, is a governmental employee in Washington, D. C. Miss Jerrehian is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Aram K. Jerrehian, Philadelphia, Pa.

of deference to inevitable French opposition. The island of Cyprus would be evacuated, the British Foreign Minister promised, if Russia were to return the provinces of Turkish rule.³⁰

That the French minister was apparently satisfied with this explanation is testified to by the communication sent by M. Waddington to the Marquis of Harcourt on July 21, 1878.³¹ However, uneasiness had followed the initial surprise of the French delegate. Realizing that the British had obtained by the Convention a position favorable

³⁰ *British and Foreign State Papers*, 69: 1346.

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from a maritime point of view to command Syria and Egypt and had secured the right to interfere in the Ottoman countries, M. Waddington decided to protest. Hints concerning Tunis from Lord Salisbury and Prince Bismarck, however, appeased the French minister, and M. Waddington raised little objection to the British Convention.³²

Though the Convention does not mention the Armenians, it was to be considered as having placed them under British guardianship.³³ The Ottoman government promised to introduce "necessary reforms," which were at the time unspecified, for the protection of the Christians in Asia Minor, promises it had made many times before and which it has no real intention of fulfilling. Secretly concluded at Constantinople, the Cyprus Convention was published during the course of the Berlin Congress after the most critical meetings on the Armenian question had been held. It was thought to have been a diplomatic victory for the Great Britain, a major rebuff to Russia; but, it was, as time was to reveal, a blunder of great magnitude. William Gladstone disclaimed it as "an act of duplicity unsurpassed and rarely equalled in the history of man."³⁴

Whatever might have been the motive of Russia in conditioning her evacuation of Turkish territory on the execution of reforms, the oppression that Russian control might have meant would have been preferable to extermination for the Armenians.³⁵ Having denied the role of protector to Rus-

sia, the only Power who had shown the slightest interest or who had made even the slightest effort in behalf of the Armenians, England thus incurred a special responsibility for their protection. But by entrusting the reforms to the Turks with the pledge of Cyprus until these reforms were carried out, the English did not insure future security and improvements for the Armenians. Moreover, it was to British interest that the reforms should never be achieved since achievement would mean relinquishment of the valuable island base, and non-achievement its permanent acquisition.

The Treaty of Berlin tacitly confirmed the concession of the right of occupation of the island of Cyprus by Great Britain. The conflicting imperialistic policies of the six Great Powers participating in the Congress of Berlin had resulted in the annulment of the Treaty of San Stefano and in the substitution of a treaty more favorable to Turkey, whose territorial integrity England was adamant in upholding. Russia wished to retain holdings which represented to her a means of securing the desired outlet to the sea. France and Italy were both interested in the control of the Mediterranean and the exploitation of North Africa, but were unprepared to initiate action against Russia. Germany, foreseeing the possibilities of future political and commercial penetration into Asia Minor and Persia, decided to play the role of "honest broker." Austria, seeking domination of the Balkans, Adriatic, and Eastern Mediterranean, saw the San Stefano Treaty as a great challenge to her interests.

The unexpected close cooperation of Austria and Great Britain, the support of Turkey by France and Italy, and the neutrality of Germany forced Russia to accept a revision of her peace treaty with Turkey; and on July 1, 1878, Russia and Turkey signed the Treaty of Berlin. The Great Bulgaria created by the Treaty of San Stefano was substantially reduced in size by

³¹ *Ibid.*, 69: 1348-50.

³² Sumner, p. 112. The question of Tunis was never brought up at the Congress, but M. Waddington felt that he could rely on German and British support of eventual French action in Tunis.

³³ W. L. Williams, *Armenia Past and Present; A study and a Forecast*, London, 1916, p. 91.

³⁴ Quoted by Missakian, p. 11

³⁵ Following the evacuation of Turkish territory by Russian troops, Sultan Abdul Hamid II undertook a policy of systematic extermination of the Armenians.

the new treaty provisions. Though it received autonomy it was placed under Turkish suzerainty. Independence was granted to Serbia and to Montenegro, but Macedonia was returned to Turkish rule. An Austrian mandate over Bosnia and Herzegovina was accorded by the treaty. Russia was permitted to retain Kars, Batoum, and Ardahan, but was obliged to give up her other acquisitions including Bayazid and Alashkerd.³⁶

The Armenians were deeply concerned over the planned alteration of the Treaty of San Stefano, for an annulment of that treaty would mean that the provisions of Article 16 would be rendered ineffective. They therefore sent a delegation to plead the Armenian cause before the Powers. The Armenian delegation, which consisted of Khrimian Hairig, Bishop Narbey, Minas Tcheraz, and S. Papazian, presented the Armenian claims at the peace conference in a secret petition.³⁷ The Armenians did not ask for the national independence of Turkish Armenia. This would have involved geographical problems, the character and distribution of the population would have to be considered, and the attitude of the various Powers concerning the establishment and maintenance of an autonomous Armenia could not be ignored. The Armenians did not ask for attachment of Turkish Armenia to Russia. Had this been the only alternative to remaining under the intolerable conditions then existing in Turkey, however, they would probably have preferred Russian annexation. The Armenians asked for vigorous and radical reforms which would be initiated by the Powers and not by Turkey. It was the financial management of the Empire, the administration of justice, the police and gendarmerie, and the working of the central and local administration that gave rise to the Armenian grievances.

Heavy taxes, expropriations, forced abandonment of holdings threatened to ruin the peasant classes. Corruption in the courts, along with the discrimination against Christian evidence, denied justice to the Armenians. Crimes and oppressive acts were committed by the police, by officials, and by the nomadic tribes. The authorities, far from restricting the offenders, actually aided and abetted them.

The situation was especially difficult for the Armenians in those regions where they constituted an absolute majority of the population. The Armenians therefore asked than an arrangement similar to that which had functioned successfully in Lebanon since 1861 be instituted for the Armenians in the provinces of Erzeroum, Moush and Van. They proposed the appointment of Christian governors, the creation of a mixed gendarmerie so that the Armenians could participate, and the introduction of reforms in the system of collecting taxes and administering justice.³⁸ Article 61 was the sole result of the efforts of the Armenian delegation.

At the very moment that Armenia was brought to the attention of modern Europe, the Armenian question became a pawn in power politics. Secret negotiations took place between Great Britain and Russia regarding Article 16 of the Treaty of San Stefano. Lord Salisbury informed Count Shuvalov that England could not allow any arrangements by which Turkey would make promises concerning the Armenians exclusively to Russia.³⁹ At the Congress England insisted upon immediate evacuation by Russia of Turkish Armenia. Evacuation would thus take place before the execution of reforms. Therefore, the Powers felt obligated to make some special provision for the Ar-

³⁶ Treaty of Berlin, Appendix of Sumner, pp. 658-69.

³⁷ Pasdermadjian, p. 358.

³⁸ Pasdermadjian, p. 358.

³⁹ Salisbury to Loftus May 24, 1878, Documents concerning the Anglo-Russian Agreement May, 1878, Appendix of Sumner, p. 644.

menians. The Treaty of San Stefano had provided for Russian supervision for reforms in the Armenian provinces. Supervision by the European Concert of Powers was substituted in the Treaty of Berlin of which Article 61 provided:

The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, to guarantee their security against the Circassians and the Kurds. It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application.

The Armenians thus received a vague promise of security and reforms. It was an illusory promise. Moreover, by Article 61 the execution of the reforms was left up to the Constantinople government. It was a misplaced trust.

Europe, especially England, was not willing to allow Russian supervision of reform in Armenia. The Treaty of Berlin by Article 61 placed the protection of the Armenians under the collective control and guarantee of Europe. Thus optional reforms replaced obligatory reforms. There no longer was a penalty attached.

A careful comparison of the two articles shows that Article 61 is merely an amended version of Article 16. On July 4, 1878, Lord Salisbury had declared his acceptance of Article 16 if the first part, apparently subordinating Russian withdrawal to Turkish concessions of reforms, were omitted. Count Shuvalov of Russia expressed his fear that grave difficulties might ensue upon evacuation before the establishment of the promised improvements. Discussion of the question was then adjourned until July 6, 1878. At this time, Lord Salisbury again asked for the suppression of the words up to and including "countries," and suggested the addition of a proviso for future consultation. The Armenian interests, he felt, must be protected. The addition would serve to give them the possibility of immediate improvements and future progress. The Turkish representative, Caratheodary

Pasha, stated that the Porte had taken measures to settle the problem of insurgent tribes which had caused the terrible conditions during the war, and that the suggested draft seemed to refer to "further" measures. The Porte should be notified as the nature of these. The new draft, he suggested, should provide that the Porte would then inform the Powers as to the results of the measures. Count Shuvalov declared his preference for Lord Salisbury's draft. Prince Bismarck pointed out the futility of mentioning measures not executed and the apparent inefficacy of Lord Salisbury's draft in this respect. The Turkish delegate insisted upon his addition. By July 8, 1878, the form of the draft was finally agreed upon between Great Britain and Turkey; on this day the assent of the Congress was given to the draft and it was inserted as Article 61 of the peace treaty.⁴⁰ The first lines of Article 16 which seemed to make Russian evacuation contingent on the grant of reforms to the Armenians were thus eliminated and a rider was added which provided that Turkey was to report to the Powers as to the reforms made, the Powers having the right to supervise their application.

This alternation of the Treaty of San Stefano was to prove disastrous. By Article 16 there was to be Russian military withdrawal only after the reforms were carried out; thus, a pressure was exerted on Turkey to take effective measures to make reforms. Article 61 removed this pressure. Unfamiliar with the geographic problems of this part of the world, the Great Powers retained the vague terminology "provinces inhabited by the Armenians." Armenians were scattered throughout the Empire; there were Armenians in Cilicia and Asia Minor as well as on the high plateau.⁴¹ By not

⁴⁰ Protocols No. 12, 14, 15, *British and Foreign State Papers*, 69: 1012; 1027; 1033.

⁴¹ H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia: Travels and Studies*, 2 vols., New York, 1901, II, 411.

specifying the Armenian provinces, the Powers enabled Turkey to base her opposition to the execution of reforms on the grounds that Turkish sovereignty would be infringed. No adequate guarantees were provided by the treaty which nominally entrusted the responsibility for Armenian protection to the six Great Powers and thereby made it an international issue.

The entire question could have been avoided by an effective watchful supervision of reform machinery by the international congress. Germany, however, was not concerned with Armenian security, desiring that Turkey remain in the condition of misrule. France and Italy regarded the Armenians as under the special protection of England. Austria's interests lay only in the European parts of the Ottoman Empire. England would not allow Russia to deliver the Armenians; Russia and Germany would not permit British predominance in the Near East.

The Armenians, one among many Christian groups before the Treaty of Berlin, were now regarded by the Turkish Sultan as an internal danger. Abdul Hamid II, fearful of and irritated by the slow burning rebellion of the Armenians who were encouraged by the intervention of the Powers, counted on the conflicting ambitions of Russia,

Great Britain and Germany in carrying out a ruthless policy of solving the Armenian question by the gradual extermination of the Armenians.

"What is everybody's business is nobody's business," remarked the Duke of Argyll some twenty years later in *Our Responsibilities for Turkey*, commenting on the substitution of collective supervision for that by a single power. "As for the unfortunate Armenians, the change was simply one which must tend to expose them to the increased enmity of their tyrants, whilst it damaged and discouraged the only protection which was possible under the inexorable conditions of the physical geography of the country."⁴²

The Treaty of Berlin was hailed as a victory, however, at the time of its formulation.⁴³ It represented an obligation for Turkey, a duty for Europe, and the legal base of the Armenian question. Turkish evasion of reforms and suppression of the Armenians and European blindness and importance regarding the imposition of reforms, however, were to cause the Armenian question, which had become an international issue by the Treaty of Berlin, to assume new and alarming proportions.

⁴² London, 1896, p. 74.

⁴³ Missakian, p. 9.



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TWO WORLD WAR II STORIES:

I'M NOT THERE

HARRY KOMOORIAN

Nearly eight million men are in the service at the present time — including me. How I got there is not an original story. We all got there for the same reason — in the same way. It seems there was a way off somewhere — and it was spreading like wildfire — and we were to go out and help stop it. I was a volunteer fireman anyway — so it seemed natural for me to receive the following message:

"The President sends you greetings. You have been chosen by your friends and your neighbors to represent them in the Armed Forces of the United States."

Ye, Gods! When did my friends and neighbors ever think of me except when they wanted to borrow the lawnmower or my fishing tackle or some other thing that they could use? I knew it was about time that my friends would come along to borrow again — but this time it was the body they wanted to borrow.

The invitation held neither fear nor joy for me — for this was what was going on inside of me. My spirit had not been with me for some time. Most of the boys that had not run to marry the first girl handy — no matter what condition — they — or the girls were in — were in the Armed Services. I was single — with a girl and dependents — and not in the service — yet. I was neither fish nor fowl — I was miserable.

Youth calls to youth — my blood was restless. There was something wrong. I was lost. Things hadn't been the same for

me since December 7, 1941. I just wasn't happy — and didn't know exactly why. The soft, silken bonds of family held me — the more I struggled — the deeper these silken threads stretched taut and cut into the flesh. Wanting to go — having to stay — now you can understand why the greeting from the President was welcome.

The greatest deceivers are those who deceive themselves. Some men try to dodge the facts — the draft — and got married. They were taken anyway. And they were responsible for the induction of those who would have been married under normal conditions. Of course — I'm not taking sides on this issue — Who am I to judge? All I'm doing is giving you the facts and letting you decide for yourselves and find your own answer. It is fun to look at things objectively. It was either run for cover or fight — Fear said run — Reason said fight. So these cafeteria-style marriages — (grab now and pay for it later) were not the answer to the problem — It was merely an excuse — But usually the punishment fits the crime. So if they wanted to wash dishes for the rest of their lives by tangling up with the wrong mate — it certainly ought to be all right with us. We can have anything we want on the menu, if we want to pay the price.

These wholesale marriages brought about many difficulties to our country. Doctors were needed and called into the service. Women all at once — tried to pay back

for past negligence — by having a bumper crop of babies — or were the men responsible for this? The doctors who were available — worked night and day and damned near died — in attempting to keep up with Mother Nature's assembly line. Production was terrific. Expectant fathers were walking two feet off the ground — with a halo around their heads — and a "holier-than-thou" attitude. It was funny. We men have been egotistical — for too long a time — about things that really never concerned us. From the way some of us got around — you would think we were having the babies. Anyway — this didn't solve the problem of the greeting from the President — at this late date. Some thought it would — But were rudely shocked — when they were greeted. They were in the thick of things — smoking and stewing — but now they had to go

and it wasn't a happy situation — and there wasn't much to some of these marriages, anyway — so they broke down under their own burden.

Those who faced the facts did the best they could under the existing conditions. There was love — a woman's love. There was love — a love for country. One could wait — the other couldn't. A country in danger couldn't wait. If one could stop and think — the choice was pure and simple. Times were chaotic and some of us couldn't think clearly. There had been wars before — there had been women before. And the lot of women during time of war had always been the same — they had loved but they had waited. Men protected and preserved the country — Women protected and preserved the love — the home. They worked in unison — the whole thing was meant to be — like the lyrics and the

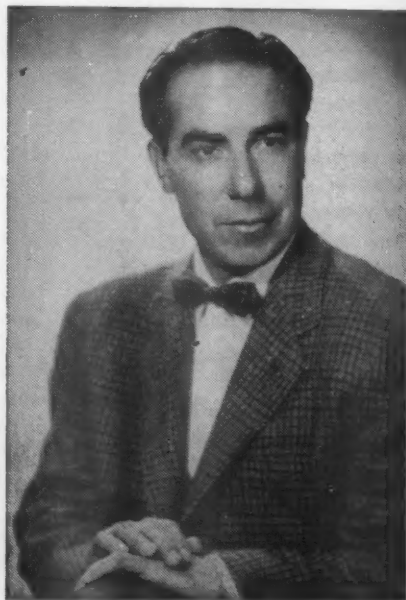
ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Harry Komoorian was born in Marash, Turkey, of Armenian parentage during World War I. He arrived in America as a child in 1923 and grew up and went to school in Hanford, California. He writes:

"I am a veteran of World War II and most of the stuff that I write is about incidents in the Army, as it happened then — true to life, full of confusion and chaos, but somewhat cushioned and wrapped up in a warm affection and human understanding. I believe as you do that simplicity and sincerity are the essence of good taste.

"Since the War, I have been active as a real estate broker in the city of Sacramento, California, and from all standards, my associates tell me that I have a "charm" touch and I make no secret of it — the man in any profession will succeed in his chosen field; all he needs to have is the right attitude and a desire to serve. While very young, I was taught a cardinal virtue — That I am my brother's keeper — and that the City of Happiness is always found in the State of Mind.

"Writing is a form of self-expression, and I do it just for the hell of it. I have bombarded the four corners of the earth, looking for TRUTH, and have always come up with the same answer — pure truth is always Poetry. In its truest sense, this Truth is beautiful, elusive, and very fascinating. I'll search for Her 'til the end of time."



HARRY KOMOORIAN

melody of a song. They belonged together — They were together — they are together — Distance and time can never separate — can never keep apart — one thought, one love — ONE COUNTRY!

Now come along with me and see some of the boys just back from the front — Their past life — as civilians — seems like a dream — So long ago — so far away. This — now seems to be a reality — And everything else a dream. Yes — We are strangers unto ourselves — The order of the day is to live — and to forget — Don't think of tomorrow — Tomorrow is too far away — TOO FAR AWAY. See that soldier there at the bar? — He seems down — physically down — But, he's

not. The whole place reeks with cigarette smoke and the aroma of stale beer — And other cheaper elements. I should wake him up. It's my job — I'm an M. P. But I won't. I look the other way and go on. His buddies will take him to his tent and tuck him in. The boy is dreaming of home — of his girl — And a thousand other things that one hides deep down inside and takes out and looks at in his dreams. Life is wonderful for him just now — Let's not wake him up — Not just yet — Not until we can wake them all up — With a JUST and a FAIR PEACE — So all the boys all over the world can come home — but what are you going to say to my Father — to my Mother — to my Girl — When it's all over, and — I'm NOT THERE!



SGT. WHIRLAWAY

Whirlaway was the youngest sergeant in our outfit. He had really earned his name honestly. He had a wonderful educational background, but due to his age — or, shall we say lack of it — he was anything but worldly. Whirlaway did a lot for us. We did a lot for Whirlaway. We made him worldly.

He used to take us to Mortimer's, at Marina, two miles from Fort Ord — and there we got drunk. That we did for Whirlaway. He wanted so much to learn to drink. We did the best we could to teach him.

One night, on our way back to the bar-

racks from Mortimer's, one of the boys got the bright idea he was a hundred yard dash man. Whirlaway said he could run too. Well, anyway — four or five of the boys lined up for the race — all drunk. They were off — yes, in more ways than one. Whirlaway pulled in the lead and stayed in the lead. That's when we named him.

But here is the payoff:

He didn't only outrun the other soldiers. He kept right on going — right on down Del Monte Boulevard, through Fort Ord. We couldn't overtake him. He was gone.

We miss him terribly.

LEON DANIELIAN — STAR OF BALLET

ROUBEN GAVOOR

"Now you know what we poor artists have to go through in order to please our audience." As Leon Danielian uttered these words, his mauve painted face broadened into a smile. Our conversation, which was intended as an interview for The Armenian Review, was cordial on both sides and we were greatly impressed by Danielian's amiability and his gracious mannerisms.

Leon Danielian, maitre de ballet of the Ballet de Monte Carlo, now on tour, is undoubtedly shedding luster on all who share his Armenian ancestry. He is doing a first rate job as ambassador of good will for the institution of ballet in the United States.

The artist was born in New York City on October 31, 1920' the son of Francesco and Varsenig Danielian.

The dance star's father came to America before World War I from Harpoot, Turkish Armenia. A few years later, together with thousands of other Armenian volunteers, he went to the Caucasus to join the volunteer corps in defense of the motherland. While there he met Leon's beautiful mother (nee Koulidgianian), native of Tiflis, Georgia, a cultured, refined and highly educated young woman, greatly interested in the theater. When the holocaust subsided temporarily in that tragic land, the couple came to the United States and established their home in the Great Metropolis.

Soon after that, Leon's mother began to teach Armenian in New York City and also in one or two Armenian centers in New

Jersey. Later she became Zarifian's leading lady in many of the distinguished Armenian actor's memorable plays.

During our interview with him, Danielian was visibly moved at the mention of the great actor's name. It seemed that, shortly before his death, Zarifian had bequeathed to him his gold cuff-links and his black tights which the veteran actor wore when he played Hamlet.

"These two items are my most cherished possessions," Danielian said sadly. "In reference to the great actor, I wear his black tights whenever I dance in 'Giselle'."

Danielian is not opinionated, even concerning his highly technical chosen field in which he is a master. He is straightforward, modest and refined. He exudes energy and is, at all times, master of his faculties. He thinks and talks swiftly and is a most interesting conversationalist. His voice has a pleasing musical quality which complements his artistic and graceful mannerisms.

Danielian was graduated from high school in 1937. It appears, however, that he was a bit impatient with his school life because it retarded his chosen career. "I hated school," he confessed, "because since childhood I was engrossed in ballet and the regular school hours seemed to interfere with my future career."

"When I was seven," Danielian related, "my mother told me I had to take dance lessons. My first teacher was Seda Suny, daughter of the composer Krikor Suny. I

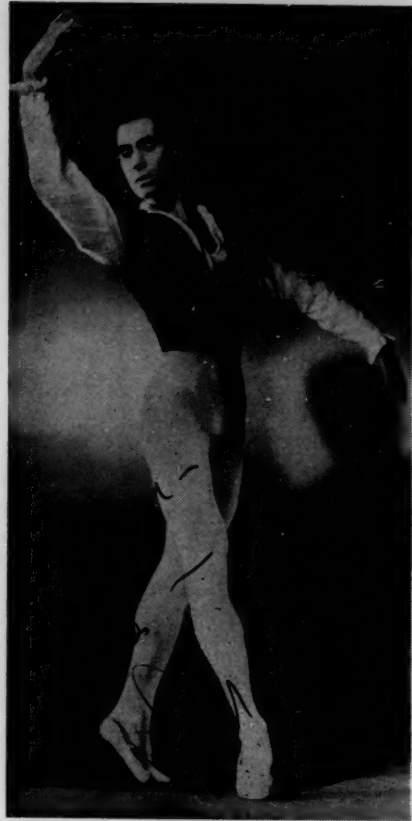
owe her much for her patience and guidance. It was she who was responsible for my getting a scholarship from Mordkin's Ballet School in 1933. This was a fine school which was founded by Michael Mordkin. Mr. Mordkin, before his retirement, was Pavlova's (the great legend in ballet) partner. Thanks to a well-to-do benefactor, Lucia Chase, Mordkin was able to establish his ballet school. I became a member of this group and worked on and off until 1939. Mordkin Ballet was reorganized in 1940, and became the Ballet Theater, the most important ballet group at the time.

"I really got started," Danielian continued, "when I was 18, dancing the pas de trois in 'Swan Lake' with Nora Kaye and Alicia Alonso. I had my debut as a soloist in 'Carnival' in the role of Harlequin. This role was first created for the immortal Nijinski. It was Michael Fokine who picked me to dance this important role, and, as luck would have it, I received many encouraging comments from the local press. Yes, those were really challenging and trying days."

After he left the Ballet Theater group, Danielian joined Colonel de Basil's Company. He remained with the Colonel's group for only a few months because the latter was obliged to leave for South America. In January of 1943 Danielian joined the Ballet de Monte Carlo. At first he was given small roles, but because of his outstanding talent his rise became rapid, rather than gradual. In some of his important roles, he has danced with the finest ballerinas — Danilova (Russian), Markova (English), Slavenska (Yugoslav), Chauviere (French), and Marie Tallchief (American-Indian), "the biggest American star".

Danielian regretfully admitted that he had not had the opportunity of dancing with Tamara Toumanova for whose artistry he has supreme respect.

Asked if he had any favorites among the



LEON DANIELIAN

ballerinas he had danced with, Danielian replied, "I have no favorites. This may sound incredible, but you must remember that each ballerina has perfected her own individual style, personality and interpretation. This being the case, it is up to each ballerina's male star to cooperate in such a way as not to jeopardize her style, without, of course, cramping his own style."

Danielian was more than gracious in answering a number of questions which would interest not only the art lover but the Armenian reader as well.

"Considering the brevity of some of your appearances, the elaborateness of the stage, and the hubbub around you," he was asked, "how do you contrive to focus the attention of the audience on yourself?"

"Unless a dancer or any stage artist is able to focus the audience's attention, then his or her sudden stage appearance is completely lost," he replied with a disclaimer of egotistical intent.

"Frankly, it is difficult to explain, but easier for those of us who are able to communicate, to demonstrate it on the stage. A dancer who aspires to stardom must cultivate along with all other important requisites that indefinable something. Call it magnetism, call it stage It, or call it that extra X."

In answer to the question, "Do you think that you have, in any way, inherited your artistic tendencies, or do you attribute it to hard work?" The artist replied:

"I definitely believe that I inherited my artistic ability from my mother who herself inherited it from her parents. This, combined with hard work, has brought me where I am today. And let me add that you have to have physical stamina, parental encouragement, and intelligent handling during the formative years. In all these essentials I have been most fortunate."

"What great artist has had the greatest influence or effect on you?"

"My former teacher, Mr. Mordkin," Danielian replied without hesitation. "Often critics claim that my style is much like that of Mordkin. He died six years ago."

"Leon, do you have an idol, or idols in your chosen profession?"

"Definitely no. I am too old to have one. However, I do admire my three top colleagues — Igor Youskevitch, Andre Eglevski and Frederic Franklin."

Danielian then supplemented this statement by singling out Mr. Youshevitch, saying admiringly, "Youshevitch gave four years in the prime of his career to the Navy

and has come back still one of the great dancers of his era."

Danielian is too modest to include himself in this select three, but critics, producers and directors whose judgment can be relied upon have definitely included him among this rare group of premier danseurs. "His dancing is brilliant." "His dancing affords the exciting moment." "He can demonstrate how exciting great dancing can be," are typical comments which but exemplify the copious press tributes which have been accorded Danielian.

Marie Hicks Davidson, a west coast critic, had this to say after one of Danielian's performances: "Ballet dancers, like all others who cater to public favor, depend upon an imponderable thing known as 'personality.' They may have good looks, superb technique and thrilling execution, but without that indefinable essence of IT this talent is as Dead Sea fruit — Danielian, to all portents has what it takes. His genius is many-sided."

Danielian was asked whether he would recommend Armenian Americans to go into his chosen profession should they show any talent.

"Positively yes. However, the females would have a better opportunity for advancement than the males, for the field is limited for the latter." Here Danielian cited Karcharoff (Kocharian), a good friend and neighbor of his, who for years was the maitre de ballet with Ballet Russe and since its disbandment has been with the De Cuebas Company in the same capacity. Danielian does not think dancing is a remunerative profession. "Most of us," he confessed, "have gone into it because we like it."

"If you had to, would you do it all over again? Would you still choose this profession?"

"I certainly would. With all its headaches, I have been extremely lucky. My profession has taken me all over the world, and I have met and become friends with the

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greatest artists in all fields — writers, musicians, actors, dancers, composers and directors. This is phenomenal for a chap who has had a humble beginning and has lived a simple life."

Leon is proud of his Armenian origin and his ancestry, and feels he has no reason to imitate some successful Armenians who have changed their Armenian name. "After all, my name does have a poetic sound," he said proudly, "and certainly blends well with my profession."

Danielian's experience has shown, whenever and wherever he has performed, he has met Armenians who took the trouble to look him up and invite him to their homes. "With such a warm display of kinship and generosity on the part of my fellow-Armenians, one couldn't help but be proud of being an Armenian."

Asked if he had any particular role which he liked better than the others, Danielian replied, "My favorite role varies from season to season. Currently, my favorite is 'The Blue Danube'. It is a new role. It is challenging and gives me much inspiration to perform it."

"Would you mind naming the major ballet groups?"

"Aside from the many community ballet groups, which, incidentally, are doing exceedingly good pioneering work, we have at present three major professional organizations. These are: The New York City Ballet, Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and the Ballet Theater. Some are sponsored through the generosity of one individual, some by groups of individuals, and others by organizations. All of them are tremendously interested in the enhancement of the ballet. Thanks to their unselfish devotion to the cause of this wonderful art form, we have gone a long way. Though the picture has definitely improved over the past tragic and gloomy years, it is unfortunate that most of these organizations have not been founded on a sounder financial basis. It is for this

reason, after a season or two, some of them do disband until they can find another angel of mercy for this highly important form. And it is gratifying that they always do."

Danielian feels quite optimistic about the future of the ballet in this country. It compares more favorably with those of England, France or Russia. We are more creative than the other countries. While they rely on the classics, we in America constantly experiment, and by doing so, create many works. Danielian is whole-heartedly in favor of this dynamism. As a result, we have made tremendous advancement. He thinks the reasons are many, but to mention a few will suffice. Proportionately, more Americans are interested in ballet than the citizens of European countries. Why? Because of the tremendous growth of community ballet groups enhanced by the motion pictures, such as RED SHOES and the medium of television. The professional ballet groups are more daring and are not afraid of the cost — win or lose — by traveling from city to city across the country, which are presenting old and new ballets. Thanks to the innumerable ballet schools, we have more genuine talent to select from. And contrary to what other nations have said about us, we are more idealistic, both in the arts or in deeds than those other countries which, must too often, accuse us of being more materialistic than art-minded.

In the fall of 1951 Danielian took a leave of absence from Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo in order to accept an invitation to go to France as guest star for a six-week engagement with the Ballets du Champ Elysee. After a successful appearance there he went with a group of Algiers, Casablanca, Rabat, capital of Morocco, and Oran. He was overwhelmed by the tremendous reception in all of his appearances in these distant lands.

In the fall of 1954 the Ballet Russe de

Monte Carlo had a two-week engagement in the National Theater of the Nation's Capital, and it was Danielian who captivated the hearts of the Washingtonians with his inimitable dancing. Danielian has a tremendously large following throughout the country.

From October of 1954 to April, 1955, Danielian was scheduled to appear with the ballet group in 176 cities from New York to California. Another artist would have been dismayed by the enormity of this schedule but Danielian was happy in the zest of his work, especially since his mother had decided to accompany him on his cross country tour. Danielian was regretful that, at present, there are no Ar-

menians in the ballet group, but was hopeful that Asta Harout, now with the Metropolitan Ballet Ensemble, might join the company next season. Asta is the daughter of Yeghishe Harout, a friend of the family for long years, and who appeared in the recent fabulous picture *THE EGYPTIAN*.

"The prime years of a dancer are between the age of thirty and forty," Danielian said to us in parting. "Of course, one should not be dogmatic about such delicate matters, for much depends on an individual dancer's physical well-being and agility. Generally speaking, however, after forty a dancer has to be careful and take it easy. As for me, I shall continue to dance as long as the public is willing to pay to see me dance."

ARMENIA

*The blood that will not wash away
The heart that will not go astray
To many souls both brave and true
That land of bright red, orange, and blue
Stands for broken faith and broken words;
But to me these thoughts do seem absurd
For, pray, how can a land be betrayed
When so many still in their hearts convey
Thoughts, which bring crowned glory, not shame
Glory that sings and rings of past fame
Name of my Mother's land — sweet sorrow
Armenia, not lost, for there's yet tomorrow.*

ANNE ATANOSIAN

THREE POEMS:

DOMENICOS THEOTOCOPOULOS

VIRGENE LEAGUE

*Domenicos Theotocopoulos
Exile from Crete
Refugee from Turkish blades
Student of the flame of hope
Embraced by Toledo
Where men like him were racked*

*El Greco
Painter of riotous clouds
City in white
The poet Fra Paravicino
And Heaven's Queen as a nursing mother*

*El Greco
Painter of the bruised Christ
The Trinity
The pentacostal tongues of fire
Maria Doloris and broken Magdalene*

*El Greco
Dreamer of the Holy Universe
And Holy Love
Whose astigmatic eye saw all things tall
Cathedral spire San Martin even God*

*Domenicos Theotocopoulos
Embraced by Spain
Protege to the Count Orgaz
Artist to the Court and Church
Welcomed in Toledo
Where men like him were racked*

MY SWEET SON

*My Sweet Son
 My Small Son
 My jumping tugging whirlwind of hope
 Where will you go or grow without my hand*

*To have you
 To feel you
 In dreaming waking symbol of love
 I was lost to all that was not beautiful*

*The Sun of your small face scorches the earth
 Of my consciousness
 The Moon of your existence is my purest joy
 When you grow out of my hand
 Grow to Heaven*

THE COCOON

*As rings around the moon
 Fortell the weather,
 The atmosphere of love
 That I weave for him,
 Cocoonwise, silken,
 Nourishing as milk,
 Predicts his manner,
 Self-secure and loving.*

*To know that I possess
 Such tender power,
 To fear that I might lack
 Direction for it,
 Brings humility
 With joy, surfacing
 On the flood of love
 That only mothers know.*

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THE SOVIET AND THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

VAHE A. SARAFIAN
(Boston University)

Introduction

The Armenian Apostolic Church, the national church of the Armenian people, is one of the oldest Christian churches in existence. While the traditional roots of the church go back to the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholemew the physical organization of the church, in the sense of a hierarchy and an order of recognition and authority, dates back to the time of the first Catholicos of the Armenians, Grigor Partev. On the accession to the throne of Tiridates III (A. D. 250), there were already large numbers of Christians in Armenia, as shown by the religious persecutions carried out by the kings of Persia and Armenia. While the date of Armenia's official conversion to Christianity is in some dispute, it is definitely established that Armenia was the first country to adopt the faith of Jesus as the religion of the State.

Since the time of Saint Grigor (Gregory), who is termed "the Illuminator" in recognition of his missionary activity, the Catholicos of Armenia from 302 to 325 A.D., the Universal Bishops (Catholici) of Armenia have always exerted great influence over the political attitudes of the Armenian people. On many occasions in history, they have represented the Armenian people as a unified religious group and as a unified nationality.

Saint Grigor founded the seat of the Catholici at Etchmiadzin ("The Place of the Descent of the Only Begotten") in the Transcaucasus. Etchmiadzin, built in the ancient city of Vagharshapat, has served as a focal point of Armenian nationality ever since, rapidly establishing itself as the Holy City and intellectual center of the Armenian people. Its ecclesiastical respect in the East can be compared only with the Papacy in the West. Political figures as well as religious, the Catholici of Etchmiadzin on many occasions have been forced by the interests of the nation to act as the real rulers of the Armenian people. Foreign subjugation of Armenia has long deprived Armenians of self-rule and political rights and has, at the same time, invested the office with very great moral and political authority.

The seat of the Catholicos has not always remained at Etchmiadzin, but has had brief stays at Dovin, Ani, Akhtamar, and Sis, maintaining everywhere its great place in the moral and intellectual life of the nation. After the return to Etchmiadzin, in the case of the transfers to Akhtamar and to Sis, new lines of lesser Catholici continued in those two centers, while the major line of Catholici continued in Etchmiadzin. The Catholicos of Etchmiadzin alone can bear the title of "Catholicos and Supreme Patriarch of All the Ar-

menians", as only he has been recognized as head of all the Armenian church. The Patriarch of Jerusalem is a local patriarch, while the Catholicos of Sis (now located at Antilias, Lebanon) has autonomous authority over Syria, and Lebanon. The Patriarch of Constantinople exercises authority over all Armenians in Turkey, but respects the primacy of Etchmiadzin. The former local Sees of Akhtamar and Aghouan, important in earlier periods of Armenian and Transcaucasian history, are now defunct.

At present, then, the Armenian Church organization presents the following picture. The Catholicate of Etchmiadzin retains primacy of respect. Under its direct control is the Gevorgian Jemaran (seminary), which before Soviet rule served as the major training ground for the clerics in Russian Armenia, Persia, and the Far East. In actuality autonomous is the Catholicate of Sis, now centered around the monastery of Antilias, exercising authority over the churches in Syria, Lebanon, and Transjordan. The monastery of Jerusalem accepts the authority of both Antilias and Etchmiadzin within the church, but not in the internal affairs of the monastery itself. The Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople, shorn of its former civil and religious power by the Turkish Republic, continues an unhappy existence, limited in real authority to Constantinople. On rare occasions, the Patriarchate is permitted to send visiting priests to the provinces of Turkey. The Armenian churches in Europe, Asia, South America, and North America, except as noted above, are under the jurisdiction of Etchmiadzin. North America forms two dioceses, that called "North America" covers the United States and Canada, with the exception of California, which forms a separate diocese.

Asia is a distinct area of division between the various authorities possible under the church framework. The Arme-

nian communities of Manchuria, especially Harbin, before World War II were served by a bishop appointed by Etchmiadzin. India, Indonesia, and Iran form the territory under the authority of the Eparchate of Iran, the Eparch himself being designated by Etchmiadzin. Iraq has its own Eparch. Egypt and Ethiopian Armenian communities are tied in traditions with Sis and Constantinople, but receive their appointments from Etchmiadzin. In all the above ecclesiastical units with the exception of Manchuria, political opposition to Soviet influence creates a reluctance to continue under Etchmiadzin's rule and a vague desire for affiliation with the See of Sis. The overall picture is further complicated by the evident desire of the clergy, regardless of jurisdiction, to maintain ecclesiastic discipline and loyalty to the hierarchy. Etchmiadzin in making appointments does not limit itself to clergy within its own jurisdiction alone, but may draw on those under any of the other three, Jerusalem, Antilias, or Constantinople, as available.

The Political Picture

A prime point of focus of Armenian political consciousness, the Armenian Church, of necessity, is a prize worth contending for among the political forces within the Armenian communities. The moral advantage secured by control of the clergy, but more particularly by control of the elected trustees of parishes, is sufficient to arouse particular attention on the part of the political organizations. Largely because of the repeated Soviet efforts to imprison the Church or to make it a weapon of Soviet diplomacy, the political conflict has become increasingly sharp with respect to the question of local church control.

The political forces may be roughly divided into three major groups. The unquestioning pro-Soviet elements have concentrated their major efforts

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around the church with marked success, aided by timely assistance by the Soviet authorities, with their control of the Holy Seat at Etchmiadzin. Despite their manifold advantages, the pro-Soviets have not been able to win a conclusive victory. In this camp fall a number of elements. The most important are those whose political ties have been with the old Hunchak Party, a "Social Democratic" revolutionary party, which has been absorbed almost totally by the Soviet forces. Allied with the Hunchaks, whose existence is noticeable only in Syria, France, Lebanon, and Egypt, are the direct Communists, euphemistically called "Progressive", a small party, whose adherents exercise disproportionate influence in Europe, North America, and the Middle East. The "Progressives" receive many advantages by their close Soviet tie, but prefer to influence developments by working through a "United Front" with Hunchaks and Ramgavars. The United Front has been active since shortly after the conclusion of the 1928 meeting of the Comintern.

The second major group is The Ramgavar Party and its allied organizations. The Ramgavars, or "Liberal Democrats", claim that Armenian independence is their goal, yet they are the major element in the pro-Soviet United Front. Their strength is greatest in France, Egypt, and the United States. It has often been charged that the Ramgavar Party does not represent a political program, but a negative opinion. There is much truth in this view, for the newspapers and other publications of this organization from country to country and from time to time evidence a startling variability. Whatever cohesion exists within the Ramgavar Party derives from a shared bitter antagonism against the Dashnak Party. The composition of the Ramgavar Party has in late years, especially since the dangers of pro-Sovietism have become more apparent in the United States,

shown basic divisions in attitude toward the Soviet rule in Armenia. Generally, the official pro-Soviet orientation revealed in Ramgavar participation in the United Front is supported, but an increasingly large part of the membership appears to be demanding a more cautious policy. The Ramgavar fraction of the Armenian communities, in general, continues to support the pro-Soviet elements in Church and community life largely because of Ramgavar desire to oppose all aims and programs of the Armenian national movement, especially as it is formalized in the political leadership displayed by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, or Dashnak Party.

Also supporting the pro-Soviet influences in the Armenian Church is the Mason-like organization known as the "Knights of Vartan". Composed in part of business and professional men in the Ramgavar Party, the Knights of Vartan have been a political and financial source of strength to the "official" church, with its pro-Soviet orientation. Of the four elements in the United Front category, the Knights of Vartan have shown the most sense, although belatedly. During the past five years, at least in the United States, many Knights have sought to weaken the ties of the order with the pro-Soviet United Front. Although a part of the Knights of Vartan still adhere stubbornly to the Soviet orientation, enough of them have altered their position to cause a trend toward a cautious "neutrality" in Armenian politics. This tendency has affected the attitudes of several boards of trustees of Armenian churches in various centers in the United States and has played an important role in the split within the pro-Soviet Armenian Church faction toward the activities of the now-ousted Archbishop Nersoyan.

The third major group, the most important single political element in Armenian life, is the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, known as the *Dashnaktsoutyun*

or Dashnak Party, a party of international scope. Unorganized in China and Manchuria, where the Armenian communities are small, the Dashnak Party is also without formal organization in India and Indonesia. In the latter two, however, popular support of the ideals of the party is strong. The Armenian communities of Persia (Iran), Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Hashemite Jordan, Palestine, Egypt, Cyprus and Greece are dominated by this party. The Dashnak Party leads the national movement, the continuation of the Armenian revolutionary struggle against Turkish and Russian oppression which aimed at the establishment of "free, united, and independent Armenia". In those lands where the Armenians overwhelmingly support the Dashnak Party, predominantly in the Middle East, the Armenian churches are generally under boards of trustees who activity reject Soviet influence, although the clergy do not openly stand against Etchmiadzin because of hierarchical loyalty. Thus, frequently, the trustees are more in tune with the political desires and opinions of the population than the clergy. While the paramount political influence in South and Central American Armenian communities is Dashnak, and therefore anti-Soviet, there is no sharp issue in the church, which remains under the jurisdiction of Etchmiadzin.

France is the only major center of Armenian settlement which is doubtful in its political loyalty. The Ramgavar, Progressives, and Dashnaks are all strongly organized. Although a large part of the French Armenian communities are Dashnak — dominated, it is difficult to determine whether a majority of the population favor the national movement or the pro-Soviet United Front. Political differences are not so sharply accentuated as they are in the United States, and the existence of a large number of "neutralists" and semi-assimilated Armenians confuses the political picture.

At any rate, where the church organization is concerned, political factionalism is generally under-cover and unimportant at the present time.

The United States and Canada, containing the North American Diocese and the California Diocese of the pro-Soviet wing of the Armenian Church and two counterpart anti-Soviet prelacies, are a special case which will be discussed in some detail later.

The Church in the Satellites

Although the Dashnak Party exercised political dominance over the Armenian communities in Bulgaria and Rumania in the pre-World War II period, the churches were generally served by clerics under a degree of Soviet control through the strong hierarchical tie with Etchmiadzin. Overt Soviet pressure existed through the activities of selected bishops who were sent to the two Balkan states at various times, but the bulk of the clergy retained a strong sense of political independence until the cataclysm of World War II, which threw the two lands under direct Soviet control. Since the war, Bulgarian and Rumanian Armenian Church autonomy has nearly ceased, and Etchmiadzin has established direct jurisdiction. With the isolation imposed by the Iron Curtain of Soviet control over Bulgaria and Rumania, it is possible only to find an occasional bit of information concerning the fate of the Armenian Church in those two countries.

Pre-Soviet Position of the Armenian Church in the Independent Movement

At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the Armenian delegation was under the sponsorship of Nerses Varjabedian, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Armenian National Council which cooperated with him. It was hoped that the Congress, composed of Christian nations, would

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realize universal peace and bring freedom to such small nations as Armenia. Bishop Khrimian, affectionately known as "Hairik" ("Little Father"), the major figure in the Armenian delegation, received a very unfavorable impression of the attitudes and conduct of the European nations at that Congress. Khrimian Hairik, later the Catholicos of All Armenians, shared in the general impression that the Armenians had not had their claims seriously considered because they had failed to prepare in time and had not shed blood to deserve freedom. Khrimian Hairik in his famous report on the Berlin Congress stated his convictions plainly: "While we approached the 'kettle of harissa' with paper ladles we were met with others who had come to take their share with iron ladles. . . How could we ever expect paper ladles to be as effective as their iron counterparts? . . . As I looked about me, I saw standing next to every delegate a few braves. . . Where were my braves, I asked myself? . . . Why did not we also have braves standing by us, to show everyone around us that we too could produce 'iron ladles', if necessary?"

He concluded with these words of warning: "There will be no salvation for our people until we learn to sacrifice and shed blood. We must stop our pleading — as pleas have no value. We must arm ourselves and defend our rights, so that when in the near future more 'harissa' (an Armenian dish) is distributed we shall not once again be without the proper ladles. . ."

This audacious plea for national uprising, as plainspoken and heroic as the words which had in earlier eras stirred the Armenian nation to the defense of fatherland and Christianity, restored the historic militancy of the Armenian Church at a time when Armenian Christianity was gravely weakened by five centuries of Turkish oppression. Coupled with Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian's policy of emancipation through

culture, education, repatriation, and peaceful progress, Khrimian Hairik's words stirred the preponderant part of the Armenian people to a new orientation toward the Church. Armenians throughout the world now looked to the national church for leadership and sanction in the movement for the restoration of Armenian political rights. Although Church leadership did not always after that date live up to the standards set by Khrimian Hairik and Nerses Varjabedian, nevertheless that standard has remained as the basic attitude of the overwhelming bulk of the Armenian people toward the Armenian Church. It is this standard which, in bitter conflict with the Soviet attitude toward the Church as both religion and political weapon, has caused the divisions and hostilities within the Church. The national movement, first expressed under such clerical leadership, grew into the political movements which have been continued in the Dashnak Party. Such political inheritors of the militant church have constantly sought to counter Tsarist and Soviet attempts to subjugate the Armenian Church.

Tsarist Attitude toward the Church

Under Tsarist rule, the Armenian people had learned early in the reign of Nicholas I that they would never live free lives, yet the Church itself had not been subjugated or subjected to destructive pressures. Tightly controlled by the Imperial authorities during the first three-quarters of the 19th century, the Church nevertheless managed to retain its estates, its internal wealth, and its separate form of worship. Although some instances of imperial interference in appointments took place, internal autonomy of the Church was tolerated. With the accession of Tsar Alexander III in 1881, the condition of the Armenian people under Russian rule noticeably worsened. In 1885, all Armenian schools were ordered closed; this hit particularly at the Armenian Church, for nearly all Armenian schools

were then adjuncts of the Church. Shortly afterwards reopened, the schools were again ordered closed in 1895. Under Tsar Nicholas II, the crowning blow was struck on June 12, 1903, when, by imperial proclamation, all Armenian church estates and properties were ordered turned over to the government.

In the face of constant pressure for Russification of the Armenian people, the Armenians had stood firmly by the Church, as a weapon whereby they might retain their national identity. This proclamation of the Tsar was designed to hit at the focal point of Armenian national consciousness. By confiscating the church estates, the Tsar would succeed in bringing all Armenian religious and cultural life to an end, for the income from the estates supported the Armenian-language schools and gave the Catholicos and clergy a certain freedom of action. The Tsar, if successful, would thus have brought the Catholicos and clergy to the level of the Russian Orthodox clergy, simple functionaries of the State.

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation, previously directed at Turkey alone, took an immediate hand in the situation, and began to plan resistance. Organizing appeals of the people to the church not to surrender the estates, the Dashnak Party leaders encouraged the clergy, at first terrified by the power of the Russian government, to take a firm stand. Khrimian Hairik, now Catholicos, sensing the readiness of the people to support firm action, ordered the servants of the Church to stand firm in resisting the confiscatory order by hiding every key, document, deed, and valuable possession in their hands.

Determined to avoid bloodshed, which would alienate any support in the Russian court, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation organized a series of demonstrations. One large group halted the train taking the Catholicos to Etchmiadzin and urged him not to yield. A large delegation visited him

at the Holy Seat with a similar petition. It was soon evident to the Tsar that only by force could his ukaze be put into effect, and orders were issued to take the properties at the point of the bayonet, if necessary. Cossacks, used earlier against the peaceful parades, were now used to break down the doors, but the clergy and civil population began a furious resistance. Assassination of high ranking officers of the government became commonplace, as the Armenians were pushed to desperation. As the situation developed, the Armenians verged more and more on open rebellion. Finally, the Tsar was forced to revoke his order by the growing cost of his "victories" over the Church and allowed the Armenian schools to reopen and the properties to return to the Church.

In the stern development of the confiscatory policy and of the popular resistance, the national movement and the Catholicate had become ever more firmly united. The Armenian people, acting under the direction of the Dashnak Party for the protection of the Armenian Church, had been reenforced in their view that any interference with the Armenian Church was an act directed against the vital interests of the nation.

No further attempts at interference with the possessions of the Armenian Church were made until the advent of the Soviet.

World War I

While the Tsar feared the Armenian Church because the people gathered around it in times of stress, the Turks hated it as a bulwark against the Turkification of the Armenian people, who could never be "digested" into being good Moslems as long as the Church remained. During the first World War, the Turkish government inaugurated a series of deportations and massacres designed to remove the Armenians forever as a conscious nationality from the Turkish Empire. About 1,500,000

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Armenians lost their lives in these events of genocide, while numbers were forcibly Islamized or escaped to other areas. Only the Armenians residing in Constantinople, under the eyes of European observers, were spared in any notable measure. With the interior nearly stripped of Armenians, the Turkish government in 1916 abolished the office of Catholicos at Sis and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, naming the Patriarch of Jerusalem as Catholicos of all the Armenians in Turkey, with only a vicar at Constantinople. Despite the best laid plans of the Turks, however, the Armenians in part did survive the genocide, and the Allied victory reestablished the full patriarchal authority of Constantinople, while the Catholicate of Sis became a refugee Catholicate at Antilias, Lebanon. With the virtual destruction of the Armenians of Turkey, and the scattering of the survivors to the far lands of the world, Etchmiadzin became an increasingly important source of authority and national consciousness. Armenians looked to Etchmiadzin, and to the Armenian Independent Republic established around it by the efforts of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, for a national life.

Sovietization of Armenia

When the Independent Armenian Republic fell before the combined attack of Turkey and the Soviet power on December 2, 1920, the material condition of the Armenian Church was very weak, as was that of the Armenian people. Probably one-third of all the Armenian communicants had been killed, while nearly all church buildings and records in Turkey had been destroyed, together with a number of those in the Russian Empire and in Persia. Large numbers of refugees were camped on Church property in the Transcaucasus and in Palestine and Syria and were supported in part by the Church authorities. Of the priesthood, both monastic and ordinary, the toll

had been unbelievably high, for the priests were particular targets for the Moslem marauders and Turkish agents. The Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, Gevorg V, called the "vshtakr" (the "bearer of suffering"), was already old and enfeebled, incapable of bringing to the people the astute and courageous leadership needed in the face of political calamity.

With the fall of the Republic, the Church was again placed in jeopardy. The new Communist masters of Armenia made no pretense about their hostility toward the Church. The Armenian people, dispirited and under constantly growing oppressions and exactions, could not again rally to its banner to stand off the pressure of Russia against the Church. Numbers of priests who had shown friendship for the ousted national elements found themselves imprisoned, or worse. Many local churches were left without a priest, while some were converted to storage buildings or clubs. The national wealth represented by the Church treasures was vandalized, with much of the loot being transported to Moscow for the use of the Revolution. The crops and income of the Church estates, being used to feed the hopeless refugees and orphans, was ruthlessly expropriated for the use of Soviet officials or for transportation from the starving country to Russia.

The February 18, 1921 Revolt

It was under such conditions for the Church that the Armenian people rose against the Soviet power in the first successful rebellion of any people against Soviet rule on February 18, 1921. The rebellion, although caused in the main by other factors, was partially motivated by a desire to rescue the Church as well, and to restore it to its place in Armenian national life. The rebellion, beginning two weeks earlier in outlying districts, succeeded in liberating the capital city Erivan on February 18. Although the Armenian Church

had officially maintained a hands-off policy, the joy of many clerics at the return of independence was undisguised. For that, as happened to large numbers of the civil population as well, the clerics were to pay dearly on the return of the Soviet armies two months later, with all Russian Armenia being reoccupied by July of 1921.

Early Soviet Policy

Immediately after the reconquest of Armenia, the Communist authorities moved swiftly against the remainder of the Church. The seizure of the lands of the church was completed. Many church buildings were razed, while large numbers were immediately converted to other uses. The number of priests was reduced drastically in certain districts. The treasury of Etchmiadzin was confiscated, a part of it being taken to Erivan and placed in a government building as a museum. The printing press of the Catholicate was seized, and it was soon the major source for printing leaflets of Communist propaganda. Although the power of the Armenian Church had been severely curtailed, yet the Soviet authorities hesitated, partly because of the large number of American relief officials still in the country, to attempt the total destruction of the Armenian Church. Thus, in 1922, the city of Alexandropol, now renamed Leninakan, still had three Armenian Apostolic churches and one cathedral, one Armenian Uniate church, and a chapel for the few hundred Greek refugees from Erzerum. Molokan protestants in the Alexandropol area still exercised their religion. The town of Kaftarlu could still count a resident priest as did many towns and villages also. Djalal-Oghli, a half-Russian, half-Armenian town, had but a Russian church, while Berd, an ancient center in the Akhalkalak area, retained its two old churches, but without priests. Although a certain caution was apparent in the early Twenties, the number of Armenian churches, especially

the number of Armenian churches with priests, decreased constantly.

Despite the hostility of the state authorities, or more likely because of it, there was an unprecedented enthusiasm for the Church among the Armenian people, especially among the peasants. Religious processions grew larger and more enthusiastic as other outlets of national emotion were closed. Armenians openly defied Communist pressures to demonstrate their Armenian religion, and services in peasant communities reached depths of emotion known only to the oppressed.

Archbishop Khoren, the Archbishop of Erivan, an adroit and well-respected Armenian personality, was the real "power behind the throne" in Etchmiadzin during the earlier part of the Twenties and during the New Economic Policy phase of Soviet rule. A man of good repute, his national attitude was not doubted by the Armenian people. It is reported that he maintained excellent relations with the Communists, yet he never surrendered his integrity. Because of his influence, largely due to his quieting power on the Armenian population, the Soviet authorities made certain limited concessions to the Armenian Church. These included the return to Church use of the church vineyards near Etchmiadzin, which constituted a large part of the source of income for the monastery there. Certain church buildings which had been confiscated were returned to the use of the Church, though by no means all. Ties with the Armenian congregations in other areas, such as with the large Circassian-speaking Armenian churches near Armavir in the North Caucasus were again permitted, though limited in scope. Despite all his efforts, however, the Archbishop could not induce the Soviet authorities to reopen the Gevorgian Jemaran, the seminary at Etchmiadzin which trained young men for the clergy. Archbishop Khoren was instrumental, however, in securing

permission for the opening of a University in Erivan, long prevented by Tsarist opposition. The beginnings of this University had been made under the Independent Republic; therefore, his accomplishment in securing such permission was a signal victory. Of course, the University was purely secular, and could in no wise alleviate for the Church the problem of training new clergy.

Until 1928, under the practical guidance of Archbishop Khoren, the Armenian Church within the Soviet Union managed to carry on a limited, but strong existence. It was still a power to be reckoned with; it still held the affection of the people; it still did bring the message of God to the people of Armenia. Though its relations with the Armenian Churches outside Soviet Armenia, especially with those outside the Soviet Union, were greatly restricted, Etchmiadzin was still the focus of Armenian national consciousness. Though Catholicos Gevorg V, consecrated in 1912, was very old and very tired, under the vigorous guidance of Khoren, the Apostolic See of Etchmiadzin still deserved the affection and respect of the Armenian people.

The Clouds of Trouble

Behind the facade of adjustment to a new foreign tyranny, however, there were signs that Etchmiadzin was soon to face a far greater crisis in its existence, namely the attempt of the Communists to destroy the integrity of the Church and to subvert the Church organization to political purposes. The closing of the Gevorgian Jemaran, which had yearly averaged from 150 to 175 students, forewarned of an impending end of recruitment for the clergy. Constant propaganda by Communist circles against religion as the "opiate of the people" could not be countered by Church publications, for the press had been confiscated, and the official publication of the Catholicate,

Ararat, was severely controlled. A government agent had been placed in charge of the treasures and manuscripts, and, though the treasures had been opened to the public in Erivan in 1922, in the mid-Twenties, because of the great popularity of the exhibits, access to the treasures was limited, or perhaps stopped. In late 1921 or early 1922, some 36 cases of ancient Armenian manuscripts had been taken by the Soviet authorities to Moscow, where they were unavailable to Armenian scholars or Church authorities, being declared the property of the State; these were not returned until 1926. The most serious "cloud", however, was in the separation of the hierarchy and the general public. By 1928, the Soviets had already achieved considerable success, whether by design or accident, in making the hierarchy unfamiliar and remote to the general public. Church had now often come to mean the local church, where it still existed, and clergy meant the priests with whom the ordinary peasant of Armenia came into contact in one way or another. Where the hierarchy had earlier been a clearly visualized and familiar concept for the mass of the Armenian people, with close national ties, after 1928 more frequently the simple villager thought of the church as a part of his former village life. No loyalty could long exist toward the hierarchy or toward the general Church as a symbol of the whole nation when the governing authorities severely limited the horizon of understanding and knowledge of the younger generation.

The Reformed Church

Soviet agents of the Cheka, later of the OGPU, had early realized the importance of infiltration of the Armenian Church, especially on account of its far-flung international ties, loose though they were after the Sovietization of Armenia. A former, very important OGPU agent has written in his memoirs that at Moscow,

"since 1920, the policy has been in especial favor of winning over the Armenian clergy and using those living outside Armenia as agents. The bishops of Soviet Armenia were to us very particular objects of attention. If one of them showed himself complaisant, we made every effort to have him appointed to a charge outside Soviet Armenia."

That there was extensive use of such "complaisant" bishops *inside* the Soviet Union as well as outside is evident in the bizarre "Reformed Church" movement started in 1924 and 1925 by several notoriously immoral bishops, under the leadership of Bishop Benik. Pretending to be working for the "purification" of the Church, and claiming all sorts of degradingly fantastic authority, the Reformed Church movement was a calculated attempt of the Soviet authorities to discredit religion in the eyes of the population. No secret was made of the immoral life and character of the principal persons spearheading the movement; although it was pretended that such information circulated clandestinely, in all probability the Soviet secret police agents themselves began the rumors concerning the type of life led by the leaders. It was evidently hoped that by such means the very foundations of the Church, resting on popular trust in the clergy, would be shaken.

The Reformed Church movement, bitterly condemned outside the Soviet Union by faithful Church followers, published a magazine titled "Reformed Church" from 1925 till 1932. During this very period, in strange contrast, the Armenian Church regular hierarchy could not publish religious information, and even *Ararat*, the official publication of the Catholicate, appeared with difficulty.

Bishop Benik is credibly reported to have been recruited into the Soviet secret service, but this cannot be verified at the present time. At any rate, it is known that Bishop Rouben Minassian of Baghdad,

Iraq, and Bishop Mazlumian of Athens, who were associated with the Reformed Church movement, were directly OGPU agents by 1929.

Bishop Rouben Minassian arrived in Erivan about the middle of 1929 after a disgraceful term as Bishop of Harbin (Manchuria). He had severely compromised himself in that city, being seen "in low dives with women and in a drunken condition". Advised to leave the country to avert scandal, he had gone to report to the Holy Seat at Etchmiadzin, where he was appointed Eparch of the Armenians in Iraq. Before leaving for his new post, he had a long conversation with Makarian, the head of the Armenian section of the OGPU, at which time he agreed to serve as an espionage agent for the Soviet Union. Well paid to further Soviet interests, he proceeded to Iraq, where his service was, no doubt, faithful, but not to the Church.

Bishop Mazlumian of Athens, another of the Reformed Church leaders, was an aged person of strange predilection, for in his old age he turned his back on a long association with the religious world and served Communism. He was an important figure in Soviet external espionage, serving as a recruiting agent as well as an espionage agent directly, extending his recruiting activities at least as far as Egypt. Mazlumian's actual code number in the OGPU was No. 3-23. During 1932, in Greece and France, as well as in other centers of Armenian refugee settlement, the Soviet Union began a repatriation campaign, that is a campaign to get the Armenian refugees from Turkey to "return" to Russian Armenia to help rebuild the country and to settle and work there. Agents from the Soviet Union toured the various communities and attempted to convince the Armenian refugees, who were living in desperately poor conditions, to go to Armenia where homes "had been built for them" and everything prepared for their

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coming. The false propaganda of the Soviet agents received the blessing of the Archbishop of Greece, Mazlumian, and it was made apparent to the community that he stood with the Soviet agents in their propaganda. The anti-Soviet Dashnak Party sought to make the Armenian community realize the falseness of the Soviet promises, but the prestige of the Church swayed many. Bishop Mazlumian carried on his pro-Soviet activities and propaganda so extensively that the Greek government itself was forced to take notice. The appearance of a book of memoirs by the former OGPU agent Agabekov in which Mazlumian was specifically mentioned as an agent caused the Greek government to declare him *persona non grata*, but after his order of expulsion the Greek government, in consideration of his old age, relented, and allowed his return to Greece, where he died soon after.

While full records of Soviet agents among the Armenian clergy are not available, it does appear that a careful scholar can not go far wrong in assuming that all those persons associated with the Reformed Church movement, whether within or outside the Soviet Union, were dupes or secret agents of the Soviet secret police.

Pressures for Advancement

As Part of the Soviet Infiltration

Because of the location of the Catholicos at Etchmiadzin, the Soviet government had a particularly favorable opportunity to bring pressure upon the ecclesiastical authorities of the Armenian people. It sought "complaisant" bishops among the Armenian clergy for use in various ways, especially externally. In 1929 the Armenian catholicos desired to elevate a priest at Constantinople to the episcopate. The Soviet consul refused to issue Basmajian the necessary visa. At the same time he promised the priest a visa and every help toward his elevation to bishop if he "would engage to render cer-

tain services to OGPU when back in Constantinople". The ambitious priest agreed to every stipulation, and after his elevation served two masters. It is highly likely that other such cases existed, but concerning this case, at least, we have documentary evidence. There can be little question that ambition and desire for advancement were fully utilized by the Soviet secret police to weaken the Church as an organized force against the Communist masters of the country. We might well ponder the implications of the statement of an OGPU agent that "If one of them showed himself complaisant, we made every effort to have him appointed to a charge outside Soviet Armenia." It is obvious that if such efforts could secure the appointment of bishops for dioceses outside the country, where non-controlled public opinion had to be considered to some degree, the advancement of "complaisant" bishops or other clerics within the country, where all power rested in the jealous grasp of the Communist party and its official or semi-official agencies, could certainly be facilitated.

The Godless Union

The Godless Union, as the organized propagandists of atheism were termed, probably was organized at an earlier date in Soviet Armenia. In 1928 it began the publication of a flood of propaganda literature attacking the Church and religion. Coinciding with a renewed savage persecution of the clergy, the activities of the Godless Union, aided by the incessant propaganda of the Communist Party and the schools, soon succeeded in large part in giving Armenia the appearance of a religionless nation. The remaining churches were closed, with the almost solitary exception of Etchmiadzin, and the Catholicate was not allowed any opportunity to answer the charges and lies circulated against the Church and the Christian religion. The

Moslem minority of Armenia at this same time was subjected to an equally strong propaganda campaign. Supported by state funds and disseminated through state channels, the anti-religion propaganda received wide circulation throughout Armenia. Young Communists and non-Communist students were delegated to anti-religious propaganda work, as well as to other tasks thought needful by the Communists.

The Anti-God Work in the Schools

Particular attention was given during the late Twenties and the Thirties to indoctrination of school children. The aim was to make religion appear a vestige of a primitive past. The clergy were held up to scorn, and children were taught to classify religion with superstition and magic. There are many interesting anecdotes relating to various propaganda methods practiced in the schools. The following practices appear to have been particularly widespread throughout Soviet Armenia and the Transcaucasus.

After religious holidays such as Easter or Christmas, the teachers would ask students if they had had a special sort of meal on that day. If a child answered, "Yes, we had chicken for Christmas", or some other indicative answer, his family, if looked on unfavorably, would immediately be arrested and deported or imprisoned. Another test, after Easter, was to examine the fingers of the children to see if they had any color on them, for the custom of dyeing eggs in various colors was widespread even under Soviet rule.

Another practice was to assemble the children outside, in the schoolyard, on a particularly good day and make them ask God for an immediate rainstorm. Naturally, nothing would result, whereupon the Communists would reveal to the children how "silly and superstition" all belief in God

is. Or, in another of the myriad variations of unsuccessfully asking something of God, the school children would be made to lower their heads and ask God for a nice, red apple. After a few minutes of unsuccessful appeal, the teacher would say, "You see how silly it is to ask something of a person who doesn't exist? Now, ask an apple of Stalin." When the children did so, a Communist propagandist stationed outside the door would enter with the necessary number of apples, whereupon the teacher would say, "When you ask a thing of Stalin, you receive; don't turn to non-existent God when you want something; turn to the Great Stalin and to the Communist government."

During the entire course of his education, the child growing up in the Soviet Union was under the strongest possible Communist anti-religious propaganda. As they advanced to the higher grades, they were made to realize that there was no future open to them if they showed signs of friendliness toward religion. Special propagandists would visit the schools to lecture the students on the evils of religion, to narrate fantastic distortions of religious history, to warn that religion is only an invention of the capitalists and imperialists to subjugate and keep quiet the working people. The student must forget all about religion and look only to the Communist Party for a true belief for the ordinary people.

Yet, in spite of every effort of the Communist Party, the new generation in Armenia did not totally forget religion. The secret devotion of parents, the large number of deportations and imprisonments of well-loved relatives, and the repeated hints or stories concerning the history of the Armenian Church and of the Armenian people, so tied to Christianity throughout the ages, could not help but continue a limited, but receptive, attitude toward religion.

The Election of the Catholicos Issue in 1920-1930

As a natural result of their desire to secure the appointment of a pliant individual to succeed the aged incumbent, Gevorg V, the Soviet authorities watched carefully over the actions and attitudes of all possible candidates. Already, in 1921, the real power had fallen into the hands of the Archbishop of Erivan, Khoren Mouradbekian. An able man, Khoren was suspect even though he maintained close relations with the governing authorities, for he was considered rightly to be "tainted" in part by the spirit of nationalism.

Far greater worry was caused by the possibility that an aggressively anti-Soviet bishop might be elected, in particular the pro-Dashnag Archbishop Nerses, of Tavriz, Persia. Because of his strong support, in the tradition of Khrimian Hairik and Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian, the Armenian national movement constantly grew in strength in the Persian Azerbaijan area, with the Dashnak Party overcoming all efforts of OGPU and the Soviet Consulate of Tavriz to stem its influence. Archbishop Nerses was especially dangerous because his influence remained very great among the Armenian people and clergy within Soviet Armenia, as well as in Persia; it was believed that he had a strong chance of being elected Catholicos. If he were to be elected, it would be a calamity for the Soviet influence over the church, for he would transfer the Holy Seat to a foreign jurisdiction, removed from the control of the Soviets.

At the same time, OGPU was anxious to replace Bishop Mesrop, the Eparch of Iran-India, who was the Archbishop of Ispahan. Bishop Mesrop, an old man, though very learned and a nationalist, confined his activities to the spiritual duties of his diocese and the eparchy. OGPU reported that he did nothing hostile to the Soviet regime; nevertheless, it recommend-

ed that efforts be made to find a suitable person to combine espionage with his spiritual duties.

At length, a plan was drawn up by which an archpriest in France named Kelechian, who since 1927 had been agent No. G-58 of the OGPU, should go to the Catholicos at Etchmiadzin and become consecrated Bishop and appointed Legate in Persia, by the "strong pressure" of OGPU. Kelechian was to receive a stipend from the OGPU of two hundred dollars monthly in return for his service. While legate in Persia, he was to attempt to find a method of getting Nerses out of Tavriz and replacing him by Mesrop. Thereupon, he was to be appointed Eparch of Iran-India. Thus, with one stroke, the OGPU believed it could solve both the question of Archbishop Nerses and of Archbishop Mesrop.

In 1930 OGPU agents succeeded in intercepting letters addressed "by the Dashnak Party in Tavriz to its special field worker in Kurdistan, Mouradian." These letters reportedly made it apparent that the Dashnaks maintained close relations with the Kurdish nationalists and the Kurdish national council, *Hoyboun*, which was directing the insurrection in Turkey. The Dashnaks were even supplying the Kurds with arms and men, and the letters indicated material which was very compromising to Archbishop Nerses as well. To create hostility between the Iranian government and the Dashnak Party, and at the same time to secure the removal of Archbishop Nerses, the Soviet Ambassador Davtian placed copies of the incriminating documents in the hands of the Persian government and informed the Turkish ambassador about all details. With the strong backing of Turkey, the Soviet government succeeded in inciting the Persian authorities against the Dashnaks; a number of searches were made, and many Dashnak Party members were arrested. However, Archbishop Nerses retained his post, though compromised.

By 1931, part of the plan of OGPU had succeeded, however, for Keletchian was already in Persia as legate. Shortly after, Mesrop was sent to Etchmiadzin, as resident bishop, and Keletchian became the Eparch of Iran-India. In late 1931, the 159th Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, Gevorg V, had finally found peace. The Soviet authorities succeeded in delaying the election of a new Catholicos until 1933, at which time, they hoped to have sufficient control over the situation to elect a pliant person. Archbishop Mesrop meanwhile served as *locum tenens*.

Treatment of the Church in 1932-33

On the death of the Catholicos, the Soviet government took steps to assure the appearance of friendliness toward the Armenian Church. Enough of the previous pressures were removed to create the feeling, as Archbishop Mesrop expressed it to a foreign visitor, that "The Soviet Government has been very good to us." Many of the treasures which had not yet been restored were now returned. A number of priests and bishops who for various reasons had been exiled or imprisoned were now released. The monks of Etchmiadzin were allowed to conduct classes for young children within the monastery garden, but religious education and training of clergy were still forbidden. It is significant, however, that priests released from imprisonment must now take civilian work, and could no longer preach. Equally significant is the fact that few churches which had already been closed were allowed to reopen.

The Election of 1933

At the electoral consistory of 1933, the Soviets had succeeded in keeping out, by refusal to grant the necessary travel papers, a number of clergy considered possibly hostile to the regime. Nevertheless, those in assembly could not be termed a totally unrepresentative group, for most areas of

the Church were in attendance. Without serious division, the Archbishop of Erivan, Khoren, was swiftly elected, despite the desire of the Soviet to see a less nationalistic and aggressive person installed. The Armenian people throughout the world accepted this election as valid, and it appeared that the Church would remain a strong and united force, despite Soviet infiltration.

Catholicos Khoren I, "the Strangled"

Khoren, the 160th consecutive Catholicos of All the Armenians, pursued a cautious policy of trying to maintain the status quo. Largely successful, he continued adroitly to resist all unreasonable encroachments of the Communists on the Church. Though often called the "Dashnak" Catholicos by radical supporters of the Soviets outside the Soviet Union, he succeeded in his major project, which was to keep what treasures were left to the Church in Etchmiadzin. The condition of Armenia meanwhile continued to be confused. Although it was possible for the Soviets to bring every pressure on the disheartened people, it was not possible to destroy completely the affection of the simple masses for the Church. Thus, in some areas no church existed at all, while in other districts of Soviet Armenia, because of the fear of pushing the people too far in particularly renowned warrior districts, a certain degree of toleration was permitted. Though the ancient and famous Island and Monastery of Sevan had been converted into a resort in 1929, in the Sevan district several villages were allowed to retain open churches, though payment of living expenses to the clergy worked nearly unbearable hardships on the peasants.

Although the 1936 Constitution of the Soviet Union seemed to guarantee the right to religion, it is a particularly strange sort of legal guarantee, for the Constitutional provision, Article 124, states: "In order to

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ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the USSR is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." There can be no argument with the validity of separation of church and state in principle, but to the Soviet that appears to mean separation of the Church from legal protection and from influence in the decisions of the state, while at the same time the state interferes in the internal affairs of the Church. Separation of all schools from the church, in the case of Armenia at least, meant the end of training of new clergy. Freedom of religious worship is guaranteed, but no guarantee is given that those worshipping will not be subjected to unusual civil disabilities, as the price of the exercise of that freedom. Freedom of anti-religious propaganda only is recognized, very simply excluding the right of the Church to try in any way to convince people of the right of the teachings of the Christian religion.

After the promulgation of the new Constitution, the condition of the Armenian Church worsened. Pressures were exerted on Catholicos Khoren to surrender the treasures. The monastic classes at Etchmiadzin, even though not religious, were halted. Access to Etchmiadzin for foreign bishops was nearly totally stopped. Communication with the branches of the Armenian Church in other lands was lessened. While Khoren was isolated, he nevertheless exerted a wide influence, for his desire for unity and strength within the Church even affected the situation in the United States, where discussions were initiated in 1936-37 for the purpose of healing the breach in the Church in the diocese of North America.

Finally, according to verified reports, the Soviet authorities could no longer put up with the loyal efforts of Khoren to preserve the integrity of the Armenian Church.

In the spring of 1938, a group of NKVD agents came to Etchmiadzin to remove forcibly the remaining treasures. Met by Khoren's refusal to turn over the treasures, the secret police, on the night of April 6, 1938, strangled the Catholicos. The Catholicate treasures were removed to Russia, and the Holy Seat was left empty. Although the Armenian Church now practically ceased to exist in all parts of Soviet Armenia, the monastery of Etchmiadzin was allowed to continue under close surveillance by the secret police, because of its international connections. The murder of the Catholicos did not become generally known to the people of the Soviet area, the authorities merely reporting his death. In itself, news of his death did not cause any stir in Soviet Armenia, for by this time interest in the hierarchy was virtually dead. The death of a local priest, or someone who had once been a priest, might evoke some interest, but the Catholicos was now a remote, dim figure, difficult to be concerned about in the midst of terrible daily hardships.

World War II

The Armenian Church throughout the world rallied to the support of the Soviet Union after the attack of the Germans began on June 21, 1941. Prayers were said for the safety of the Armenians and for the defeat of the Fascists. Even though the Dashnak Party was firmly dedicated to the destruction of Soviet rule, the liberation of Armenia, and the reunion of Turkish and Russian Armenia, it maintained a high degree of silence during the war years in order not to obstruct in any way the progress of the war, for it viewed Fascism with distaste. At the same time, the Dashnak Party was determined to give the Soviet Union no cause to suspect Armenian loyalty, lest the Soviet Armenian people suffer.

The Ramgavar-Hunchak-Communist coalition known as the United Front became

more openly pro-Soviet, and sought to take advantage of the situation to destroy the Dashnak Party in the eyes of local governments in the refugee centers.

After the German invasion, for a period of one year the Soviet policy toward the Church remained unchanged. Responding to articles printed in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* in 1942 in praise of the role of the Russian Orthodox Church in support of the war, *Khorhrtayin Hayastan* ("Soviet Armenia"), the official newspaper of the Communist Party in Soviet Armenia, in late 1942 began a campaign in support of the Armenian Church, championing religious toleration and stressing the important role of the Armenian Church in the war. Some clergy were allowed to return from Siberia, where several had maintained secret congregations and said secret masses in the concentration camps. With a few churches reopened in various centers of Soviet Armenia, it was easy to create the impression that the Soviet regime was indeed moderating its attitude.

The Armenian communities in the war zones of the Soviet Union suffered heavily, and with them their churches. In the Ukraine, the Armenian communities of Kiev, Kharkov, Odessa and Crimea were widely split, as large numbers at first welcomed the Germans as liberators from the Soviet rule. In the Don and North Caucasus areas, the Armenians suffered heavily in the shifting military operations. As the Germans approached the Armavir area, large numbers of the Circassian-speaking Armenian Church in that district, headed by a priest, went to welcome the Germans, only to be caught in crossfire between the two hostile armies and decimated. Large numbers of Armenians from these areas succeeded in escaping to the Germans, or were taken as slave labor to Germany. A small number of liberated former clergy also succeeded in reaching Germany.

During the period of the war, Soviet clergy circulated widely in the Middle Eastern Armenian centers, and the ties of external dioceses with Etchmiadzin were strengthened. By the combination of favorable factors and aggressive activity, the Soviet Union succeeded in large measure in reducing Armenian external hostility toward Soviet Armenia and in increasing the influence of pro-Soviet individuals within the Armenian Church.

The New Election

In response to the needs created by the closer tie between the Armenian churches outside Armenia with Etchmiadzin, the Soviets in time found it advantageous to announce a new election to fill the vacant Holy Seat. Announced in March, 1945, the new electoral consistory actually convened in June of that year. The Armenian clergy allowed to attend were carefully selected individuals, with a great preponderance of men either already under Soviet control or easily impressed by the apparently friendly attitude of the authorities toward the Armenian Church. The favorable climate for religion so constantly claimed in Soviet writings of this time, thus, did succeed in convincing several of the Bishops attending the consistory that the changes were permanent, and that Armenian progress and intelligence had overcome the dogmatism and hostility of Communism.

At any rate, the Soviet Union's candidate, Gevorg, Bishop and acting *locum tenens* at Etchmiadzin, was elected the 161st Catholicos of Etchmiadzin. The consistory has been charged with illegality. A number of qualified and theoretically eligible clergy were not allowed to attend, as certainly a large number of eligible trustees, and the selectivity shown guaranteed a "packed" meeting. It was an extraordinary consistory under extraordinary conditions. In return for his pliability, Catholicos Gevorg VI did succeed in achieving a continued tie with

the outside world, even after the Cold War began. Under his Catholicate, through no effort of his own, but rather because of the dilemma facing the Soviet Union on how to restore an unpopular policy after making concessions, Armenia witnessed a great surge of religious faith. The heavy loss of life during the war, the dislocations, the psychological travail, all combined to reemphasize to the simple Armenian population the need for God's aid and strength.

At the electoral consistory, certain pro-Soviet policy decisions were apparently made, such as the decision to begin a propaganda campaign against the Roman Catholic Church because of its unfriendly attitude toward the Soviet regime. Shortly after the meeting, such propaganda did in fact begin throughout the Armenian communities. On several occasions between 1945 and 1950, the Catholicos himself is reported to have spoken out against Rome. The Armenian Uniate Church, centered in the Monastery of the Mekhitarists at San Lazzaro, Venice, during this period publicly displayed political sympathy with the Dashnak Party, especially during the visit of Cardinal Agagianian to the United States in 1951.

The magazine *Etchmiadzin* began to appear immediately after the election, to serve as the official publication of the Catholicate. Earlier, *Ararat*, the former official publication, had been suspended in 1938. Since that date, the Armenian Catholicate had had no public outlet. Unlike *Ararat*, which had delved little into non-religious topics, and so had not been a good propaganda medium for the Soviets, *Etchmiadzin* has utilized a great deal of such propaganda to fill its pages.

Catholicos Gevorg VI

During the tenure of Catholicos Gevorg VI, the Armenian Church became ever more apparently an external church, that is the Catholicate existed mainly for for-

eign areas, not for Soviet Armenia, where the number of churches and priests remained almost non-existent. From over 1,600 Armenian churches in existence at the time of the Soviet conquest of Armenia, served by nearly 2,000 priests and higher clergy, nearly 85 per cent have been totally destroyed. A large number of the remaining church buildings are utilized as clubs, movie houses, warehouses, other mundane uses, or converted to museums. With Soviet Georgia in 1950 having less than 100 churches, it is probable that Soviet Armenia, with half its population, has less than fifty. Even that latter number appears to be far too high, according to the most reliable reports. The number of Armenian clerics ranked as priests or higher in 1950 is believed not to have exceeded a total of 150 throughout the Soviet Union, including the monastery personnel and the surviving imprisoned priests.

Although the government had moved Catholicos Khoren to Erivan in 1933, to a civilian building where he could perform his functions with the assistance of two or three clericals under the constant surveillance of two civil supervisors, no such attempt was made on Gevorg VI, and he was allowed to remain (under supervision) at Etchmiadzin.

The Religious Affairs Commission

Under Molotov's Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the Religious Affairs Commission, which since 1947 has been headed by Karpov, a young man of specialized training. Twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age at the time he was placed in charge of Religious Affairs, Karpov has had thorough training in the various religions of the Soviet Union, and is considered a dangerous anti-Church Communist precisely for that reason. One of his chief assistants is Poliansky, who has escorted Hewlett Johnson on his visits to the Soviet Union, and who was in

charge of the meeting of the "Orthodox" Churches in Moscow in 1948. Although the Armenian Church is not "Orthodox" in the sense of accepting as many Councils as the Greek and Russian Churches, nevertheless the Catholicos was present as a participant. Some Armenians within the Church feel that at that meeting the Religious Affairs Commission made it plain that it wanted Armenia's church also to be linked with the Orthodox Churches in a tie with Moscow.

That the Commission exercised considerable influence over the policies and actions of Etchmiadzin is, of course, to be expected. If the revelations made regarding OGPU methods toward the Armenian clergy earlier under Soviet rule still held true, and there is no reason to doubt the continuance of method, then the Religious Affairs Commission works not only under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, but in close contact with the NKVD. An evidence that the use of old methods of recruitment of Armenian clergy into the Soviet secret police or espionage activities still continues is seen as late as 1953. Though circumstantial in nature, the evidence appears conclusive that Bishop Vazgen of Rumania, then merely a priest facing long service before he would be ready for the episcopate, secured advancement through the pressure of the Soviet government. In 1953, Vazgen went to Moscow, where he held long conversations with Poliansky, the deputy chief of the Commission, after which he was speedily raised by Catholicos Gevorg VI.

The Armenian "Orthodox" Church

Directly after the meeting of the Orthodox Churches in Moscow in 1948, the Armenian Church in Rumania and Bulgaria, especially the former, began to push the use of the term "Orthodox" for the Armenians, rather than "Apostolic" or "Gregorian" by

which names the Armenian Church, has always been known. In 1949, in a letter referred to in the Armenian press, the Archbishop of Roumania claimed that the position of the Armenian Church in that country had improved greatly because of the use of that term. At the same time, in the Middle Eastern countries, the Armenian clerics occasionally used the name, despite its inaccuracy. Although there were many such indications of a basic change impending in the relationship of the Armenian Church with Orthodoxy, when the Prelacy of the North American Diocese of the pro-Soviet part of the Church began to refer to itself regularly as the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church, later as the Armenian Orthodox Church, in 1949 and subsequently, a storm of opposition gradually swelled against the Prelate, Archbishop Nersoyan. For the first three years, the public opposition was entirely in the Dashnak press. By 1952, a sufficient number of Ramgavars had been aroused, for various reasons, to oppose the Archbishop. After a series of bitter articles in the Ramgavar press in 1953 against the use of the name Orthodox, the issue was squarely joined; the Soviet could, probably, succeed in making the Orthodox name become semi-official, but at the cost of a large part of the support they had received from the Ramgavar Party in the United Front. Finally, in December, 1953, writing in *Etchmiadzin*, the Catholicos declared, somewhat contrary to the apparent facts, that Archbishop Nersoyan had been acting on his own initiative and contrary to the desires of the See of Etchmiadzin; at the same time, Nersoyan was removed from his position as Prelate of the Church in North America. It is apparent that the entire issue of "Orthodoxy" of the Armenian Church was an attempt to tie the Armenians more closely to the Russians, an attempt which was found unsuccessful, and so was scrapped before permanent loss could result to the Soviet interests.

Relations with the Outside Church During Gevorg VI's Reign

During the years 1945-1954, while Catholicos Gevorg VI served as the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, the relations of the Holy Seat with the various churches outside Soviet Armenia became closer and more involved. In all the areas directly tied to Etchmiadzin, such as the Balkans, Iraq, and Iran-India, the Soviet influences within the Church were accentuated. Celebrations of the anniversary of the Sovietization of Armenia were encouraged with masses in the Church. The historic role of the Church as the champion of Armenian freedom was subverted by constant propaganda stressing the idea that the Soviet had brought freedom to the Armenian people. The Church appeared ever more openly as the champion of Soviet rule in Armenia. Although by no means a majority of the clergy shared such opinions, those in opposition found themselves more and more muzzled as the higher clergy assumed a more actively pro-Soviet position. In the Eparchy of India-Iran, however, until his death in 1951, the courageous Archbishop Melik-Tangian succeeded in reducing the success of the pro-Soviet elements.

Even those parts of the Church not under the direct jurisdiction of Etchmiadzin showed a drift in the direction of pro-Sovietism. The Patriarchate of Jerusalem, headed by politically unsophisticated men, showed little understanding of international political realities, especially under the stress of the Israeli-Arab warfare, which threw the monastery and community of Armenians into chaos. Archbishop Garegin Hovsepian, a Soviet citizen, who had served as the Prelate of North America from 1936 to 1944, had in the latter year been elected Catholicos of Sis (Antilias). Under his direction, efforts had been made in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Cyprus and Hashemite Jordan to reduce democracy in the Church by revising the Constitution to limit the power

of the local trustees, who formed a part of the electoral college under the Church constitution. Through the ingrained hierarchic loyalty, Catholicos Garegin had achieved a large measure of success in silencing overt anti-Sovietism on the part of the lower clergy. By December, 1950 the situation had become so critical that the *Intelligence Digest* stated that the Armenian Church constituted the most dangerous situation in the Middle East. The activities of certain clergy had become so obnoxious to local governments that the situation of the Armenian communities and Church were endangered. Bishop Vahan Costanian of Ispahan, Persia, had especially made a bad name for himself in the Communist manoeuvring within that country. Believed to be an agent of the NKVD or the Soviet secret service, he was ordered expelled by the Iranian government in 1951.

Repatriation

Beginning shortly after the election of Catholicos Gevorg VI in 1945, the Soviet government announced that it was opening the borders to all Armenians who wished to "return" to Armenia. While this is no place to discuss the political and diplomatic nature of the Repatriation movement, it is necessary to realize that that campaign, utilized to great avail especially in the Middle East for the furthering of favorable propaganda by the Soviet government, created great enthusiasm in most Armenian communities. Supported by the Church, in general, the repatriation campaign in the Middle East even made some Dashnak Party leaders in the Middle East feel for a time that some good *might* come of it. Because of the public leadership of Catholicos Gevorg VI in the repatriation movement, the hope was aroused that a large share of traditional political leadership was again to be allowed the Catholicate, and an equal hope that at last a compromise understanding had been reached between the Ar-

menian Church and the Soviet authorities which would permit the Armenians to enjoy a large degree of internal autonomy. Aimed primarily at the over half-million Armenians of the Middle East and Greece, with France a less emphasized part of the movement, while the quarter million Armenians settled in the United States and Canada were regarded primarily as a source of financing the repatriation, the campaign did succeed in drawing approximately eighty thousand Armenians behind the Iron Curtain between the years 1945 and 1948. From the United States some 151 Armenians were taken. Archbishop Nersoyan took a personal hand in the repatriation campaign in the United States despite the very unfavorable publicity which it received in the American press.

The Stockholm Appeal

At the beginning of the Cold War, the Soviet Union found itself in a very unfavorable situation, for the United States possessed the knowledge of how to make Atomic Bombs, while the Soviet was unprepared for warfare based on nuclear fission. Hitting on a scheme to rally world opinion against the American advantage in military power until it could catch up, the Soviet began a world-wide petition campaign to ban use of atomic weapons in warfare. This campaign is known as the Stockholm Appeal. The Armenian Church, with its international ties, was a particularly suitable channel for such a propaganda device. The Catholicos sanctioned the appeal, and spoke in favor of it on several occasions in 1948. While some churchmen utilized their position of dignity to further the campaign, the immediately hostile reaction of the Western governments to the Soviet propaganda device deterred the overwhelming mass. The similar hostility of the Dashnak Party made many Armenian clerics hesitate doubly for they believed that that party was keeping them under

surveillance. Nevertheless, in the United States Archbishop Nersoyan permitted the use of the headquarters of the Prelacy for the collection of signatures.

The Vacancy at Antilias

When Garegin Hovsepian died in 1952, the Catholicate of Sis was left vacant, and immediately became a prize between the contending Armenian political forces. Khat Atchabahyan, *locum tenens* since Catholicos Garegin's death, heads a council of thirteen in charge of the affairs of the church pending a new election. Khat, considered to be tied to the pro-Soviet element within the Church, has consistently refused to allow the convening of an electoral consistory. The Dashnak Party has a clear majority of the electoral trustees permitted under the Constitution of the Antilias Catholicate. Therefore, the pro-Soviet elements are united in demanding that some way be found to revise the electoral body's composition. All such efforts have failed, and the situation is deadlocked at present. The pro-Soviet persons, both within and without the Church, are particularly disturbed at the possibility of the election of Bishop Zareh of Aleppo, Syria, a young and vigorous nationalist capable of destroying the results of over thirty years of Soviet planning and infiltration. Their concern is especially well-founded, for the vacancy in the Sis Catholicate has aroused world-wide Armenian interest, and the anti-Soviet Armenians in nearly all countries are considering the possibility of detaching the Armenian Church in the free world from the jurisdiction of Etchmiadzin and attaching all external dioceses to the Sis Catholicos, if such a person as Zareh is elected.

While the pro-Soviet and "neutral" elements have no such candidate, capable of rousing great popular enthusiasm and support, they do have several possible candidates in mind, generally aged men of little popular appeal. The outstanding

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person mentioned as a candidate by the pro-Soviet faction is the former Prelate of the North American Diocese, Archbishop Nersoyan. While he still held the seat of Prelate, his candidacy was occasionally mentioned. It is felt by some that his ouster because of the Orthodoxy issue was merely a maneuver to make him more available when the election is held. While the timing of his ouster does fit into such a possible plan, certain difficulties have prevented any such eventuality. The Dashnak Party won a surprisingly large victory in the Lebanese elections in July, 1953 in a campaign which was based in part on the Church issue.

The Vacancy at Etchmiadzin

Since the death of Gevorg VI, the Holy Seat at Etchmiadzin has been vacant. To date, the Soviet authorities have shown no inclination to call a new electoral consistory. Archbishop Vahan Costanian, ousted from Ispahan in 1951 by the Persian government for pro-Soviet activities, has been designated *locum tenens*, as "Chief of the Religious Council". Archbishop Vahan, precipitously raised in rank from the priesthood after his ouster by the Persian government, addressed the four graduating students of the Gevorgian Jemaran (reopened in 1948) according to news stories in December, 1954. These four new graduates, one from Syria, three from Soviet Armenia, the first such graduates since the Sovietization of Armenia, were told that: "Your work will be to preach about the economic advances, factories, and work shops of the Fatherland, and wherever you go to tie people to this country." The Church in Etchmiadzin had now turned full circle; where before, under such men as Khirmian Hairik, the ecclesiastic authority had been solidly ranged alongside these elements of the Armenian people dedicated to the struggle for human rights and national independence, now the Church was

openly ranged against the national forces and supporting the system of Communism and foreign rule in Armenia. If Antilias could not be won, the national movement of the Armenian people would be almost totally divorced from the Armenian Church, and the Soviets would win a great victory.

The Situation in the United States Before 1933

During the Twenties, while the Armenian people were becoming adjusted to their new life in the United States and Canada, there were few churches, mainly in the largest centers of settlement. By 1933, the number of such churches was rapidly increasing, and even the smaller communities were beginning to build or purchase churches for the Armenian congregations. In general, political factors were not evident in the administration of the Church, for though North America was a part of the Etchmiadzin jurisdiction, the United States did not recognize the Soviet Union, and the influence of Archbishop Khoren of Erivan prevented any wholesale subordination of the Church to Soviet interests. The local trustees, though not clearly differentiated by parties, in general supported the national movement and regretted the loss of Armenian independence.

With the recognition of the Soviet by the United States, the situation rapidly deteriorated. Bishop Tourian had been called earlier to serve the North American Diocese as Prelate. There was little warning of his attitudes, for he was a master of duplicity, yet the confidence of some was somewhat shaken when he sat beside Litvinov at a ceremonial dinner celebrating the recognition of the Soviet Union. That the Prelate of the Armenian Church in America should be so signally favored by the new Soviet Ambassador seemed surprising to many. Later, on July 2, 1933, designated "Armenian Day" at the Chicago World's

Fair, Archbishop Tourian was scheduled to be one of the speakers. On rising before the assembled multitude, he scornfully looked around at the flags of the Armenian Independent Republic mounted around the stand and announced, "I will not speak until that flag which is the flag of no country is taken down; Armenians today have a flag, the flag of the Soviet Union." Needless to state, pandemonium broke loose, and the Armenian ceremonies were cancelled. From that date on, the Armenian settlements were in turmoil. On August 2, 1933, a group of young Armenians who were refugees from the Turkish and Russian persecutions beat up the Archbishop.

The turmoil continued to increase and it was obvious that the Armenian community was facing a crisis. On August 15, with the diocesan convention only two weeks off, Archbishop Tourian announced to the Dashnak Party by letter that he was not against the flag of the Armenian Independent Republic; then he sent a letter, which was printed in the Armenian Communist paper, *Panvor*, to reassure the pro-Soviet elements that he had not changed his mind, but that, "This is how I fool the Dashnaks."

The diocesan convention assembled at the New York Cathedral on September 1, 1933. Of the assembled delegates, a majority of two-thirds were openly supporters of the Dashnak Party, while about one-third were supporters of the Archbishop. Seeing the great disparity of strength, the pro-Soviet part of the Armenian Church illegally withdrew from the meeting on the second day and went to the Hotel Martini-que, where they met with Archbishop Tourian as a rump organization of the Church. With the Church thus split, both sides appealed to the Catholicate for a reunification. The decision was foredetermined, for the Holy Seat was under the strong influence of the Communist authorities and pressure could be applied. In time, the Catholicos

sanctioned, despite the explicit statutes within the Constitution of the Armenian Prelacy of North America, the rump segment of the Church and declared the elected legal majority rebels.

The Assassination of Tourian

The American branch of the Armenian Church now became the forefront of the struggle of the national movement against Soviet control, for only in the North American Diocese was the Church openly split. America has remained the only area where that condition prevails, though the California Diocese has since 1948 also duplicated the split. Since 1933, the legal majority has maintained an anti-Soviet ecclesiastic organization under the name "Prelacy of the Armenian National Apostolic Church".

While officiating at the Christmas services on December 25, 1933, Archbishop Tourian was assassinated by stabbing. Pro-Soviet persons in the church immediately set upon all known Dashnaks or anti-Soviet persons and began to pummel them, shouting, "You murdered the Archbishop!" Nine Dashnak Party members were called to trial. The Communist Armenian paper *Panvor* set the tone of the trial in advance when it wrote that, "Even if the Dashnaks did not do this, we must prove that they did." In such an atmosphere, the trial itself, in 1934, was marked by sharply conflicting testimony and charges of extensive perjury. Although the American jury, obligated to confine itself to the testimony, found the nine accused guilty, the trial has never satisfied the Armenian community of the United States, for the only person in a position to see what actually went on, Bishop Garabedian, now deceased, refused to testify and till his death continued to maintain close ties of friendship with Dashnak individuals.

Some anti-Soviet Armenians, whether Dashnak or not, have long felt that the deed may have been committed by an agent of

the OGPU in order to disrupt the Armenian community, discredit the nationalists and facilitate Soviet control over non-Dashnak persons. The feeling also has prevailed that, even if those charged did do it, they had sufficient cause, in view of the genocide and sacrifices suffered by the Armenian people because of their desire for the independence represented by the flag of the Armenian Republic. At any rate, the historical importance of the assassination lies simply in the fact that it widened the split in the community and Church.

The Thirties in America

Although the Dashnak Party adherents had formed the major source of financial and social support of the Church before 1933, after that date, in bitter disappointment at the United States recognition of the Soviet Union and the judgement at the trial, many cut themselves off, or were cut off by the pressure of the United Front, from active participation. Thus, several churches previously controlled by believers in the national movement came under the control of the pro-Soviet hierarchy.

Although high feelings continued, in 1936 and 1937 efforts were made to re-unite the Church, when Garegin Hovsepian was sent by Catholicos Khoren for that purpose. Since the conditions stipulated by the new Prelate would have meant a complete surrender to the control of the Soviets, these negotiations were fruitless. Garegin Hovsepian was elected Catholicos of Sis at Antilias in 1944, and his place was taken by Archbishop Tiran Nersoyan.

The Case of the Unfrocked Priests

With the control of the hierarchy, the pro-Soviet elements in the United States felt the time had come to completely subjugate the clergy. While a large part of the clergy in the officially approved branch of the Church, largely because of traditions of hierarchic loyalty, remained passive, not all of the ordinary priests could tolerate

the constant interference with their performance of their duties by the political leaders of the United Front. Reverend Papazian of New York was declared "unfrocked" by the pro-Soviet wing of the Church in 1934; Reverend Mateos Manigian of New York was similarly "unfrocked" in 1936; Reverend Bessak Sarkisian of Philadelphia, in 1934; the Right Reverend Ghévond Martougesian of Philadelphia, in 1935. In 1937, a court in Philadelphia, presided over by Judge Alessandrone, found there to be no valid evidence, despite letters by the Prelacy of the pro-Soviet wing of the Church, that these four clergymen had been duly and legally "unfrocked", and their right to continue their clerical function was stated by the Court. Disregarding the conditions of American law, the pro-Soviet part of the Church still continued to consider them "unfrocked". This issue has been repeatedly raised by the pro-Soviet part of the Church, especially under the term as Prelate of Archbishop Nersoyan (1944-1953) as the prime cause of the continuing split within the Church.

Archbishop Tiran Nersoyan

Archbishop Tiran Nersoyan, originally trained at the Monastery of Jerusalem, was called to the North American Prelacy of the dissident pro-Soviet Church in 1944 from London, where he had been serving the small Armenian community. While there, in a book published in 1942, *A Christian Approach to Communism*, he had revealed himself to believe that Christianity is very similar to Communism and his belief in "an ideological approach to Communism" on the part of the Christian religion. An extremely clever book, distorted though its version of Christianity is, it reveals an author who appears completely convinced of the basic rightness of Communism, and a willingness to go along with the desires of the Soviet rulers of Armenia in their suborning of the Church.

As elsewhere revealed, Nersoyan displayed in the actions as Prelate an especial fervor in carrying out whatever hints or orders reached him from the Soviet Union, as in the case of the use of the name "Orthodox", as well as in the Repatriation campaign. Especially in the case of the "Choolakian children", still an issue between the United States and the Soviet Union, he revealed himself as loyal to the Soviet. This case, arising out of the repatriation movement in 1947, concerns the children of an Armenian repatriate, who had for years left his children in the care of an American orphanage. When Choolakian decided to go to the Soviet Union, he took with him his two older children, but showed no interest in the welfare of his three younger ones, whom he had left under the care of New York authorities for the five years preceeding under the contention that he was unable to care for them. After his arrival in the Soviet Union, Choolakian purportedly wrote letters asking that his children be sent to him. Pushed as a propaganda method by Consul Lomakin in New York until the Kasenkina affair, when the New York Soviet Consulate was closed by the United States authorities, the case was then taken up and championed by Archbishop Nersoyan, despite the court finding that the children would have no freedom in the Soviet Union, freedom of religion being specifically mentioned as lacking.

In 1946 and 1947, while Nersoyan was Prelate of the pro-Soviet controlled part of the Church, new attempts were made to reunite the Church, but, as before, abortively. Nersoyan displayed singular interest in the possibility of securing physical possession of the properties of the anti-Soviet legal church, but was unable to give sufficient guarantees to convince the negotiators. He displayed great adeptness in the negotiations, however, succeeding in entrenching his personal power

in control of the pro-Soviet faction through playing on the general desire of the Armenians, regardless of politics, for a strong and united Church. Nersoyan's ouster in December, 1953, has made no significant difference in the condition of the Armenian Church in North America, for his place has been taken by Bishop Mampre Kalfayan, a man of limited knowledge, whose previous service as Prelate of the California Diocese was marked by unusual maladroitness and a marked pro-Soviet attitude.

Conclusion

In relating the little known history of the Armenian Church since the Sovietization of Armenia, it has been my purpose to reveal the meaning of the realities discernible to a critical research. While my use of the term "pro-Soviet" may appear to imply that the Armenian Church has consciously followed the Communist rulers in Armenia in seeking to render the Armenian clergy and communities subservient to Soviet interests, such an impression is, in fact, unwarranted. Rather, the Armenian Church has been divided in its counsels on how to meet the new crisis for religion posed by Communism and the Soviet attempts to suborn, or destroy the integrity of, the Church. While some have been corrupted into the Soviet secret service to destroy the ability of the Church to counter the Machiavellian Soviet tactics, the larger part of the clergy have shown the passivity of indecision. Many of these have sought to find a method of reconciling their position in the clergy with the position of the temporal authorities, thinking thus to reach a compromise which will aid, in the long run, in maintaining the Church, though its religious framework and content be altered in part. There have been few, unfortunately too few, who have successfully stood like pillars of strength against all efforts of the

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Soviets or inducements of easy compromise, in the tradition of Patriarch Nerses Varjebedian, of Khrimian Hairik, and of the early leaders of the Church. The Armenian people have been affected by the enervation prevailing in the clergy, but the ordinary Armenian people, display more

resistance, more courage, and a better understanding of realities than the clergy, for they have comprehended that the victory of the Soviets, or the victory of the Communist philosophy, would mean the end of the historic, the beloved, the national Armenian Church.

THE SHELL

*The shell bulges, tecters,
and is forced to expand
as my exhilaration threatens
to overwhelm the controlling barrier
and surge outward.*

*Containment is hardly possible
as the world spins its varied colors
in circles all about,
tantalizing me.*

*A glimpse of jewelled light,
a warm caress,
a softly tinkled tune linger
in my memory.*

But . . .

alas . . .

*it is only a glimpse, only a memory,
and too short-lived.*

*For where is joy
when there is no one to
express it to?*

No one to share it with?

So . . . lonely and

sadly

*my love sinks
and withers within me;
once more the outer shell
is erected,
sealing
my feeling.*

FRANK TARIAN

THREE POEMS

LAMENT OF A LITTLE NATION

DIANA DER HOVANESSIAN

*I have wept too long for my children
And they too long for me.
What sins of omission are committed
In the name of liberty!
But if I choose between weepers
And some of laughing mien
I'll take the tears. At least,
They keep alive a sacred name.
Here on the soft couch of Parnassus
The others sleep of the grape
Of plenty, much ashamed to talk
Of murder, famine, rape.
Oh, too polite and polished,
Too willing to turn the cheek
They forget all other lessons
They've heard the elders speak.
They forget that more than kingdoms
More acres, than were Roman loss
The holy holy kingdoms
Were won upon the cross!*

VOICE IN THE DARKNESS

*Where are my children, children?
The wind in the darkness cries.
Grown to Turk and Russ and Persian
With sad Armenian eyes?*

SLEEP

*Sweet liquid sleep,
Flow shallow, flow deep. . .
Soft remembrance makes dreams
That bubble, that creep
Up from your eddying to a star-strung sky
Flow, till the bright sun parches you dry.*

A HISTORY OF ARMENIAN PRINTING

H. KURDIAN

The fact that Armenians had large colonies in various parts of Europe in the 15th century when printing was discovered and spread over Europe should be sufficient for us to expect that this book-loving people made use of the new invention that proved the turning point of our civilisation.

The Armenians had their own elaborate alphabet at the very beginning of the 5th century. Accepting Christianity at a very early date in the 3rd century when both nation and king became converted to that religion — the Armenians had a well-developed chain of monasteries all over Armenia. These monasteries served not only as religious centers but also as cultural and educational centers. Historians inform us that, in the 7th century, one Armenian monastery alone had 700 monks busy in copying, illuminating, etc., Armenian manuscripts. Plunder carried away from Armenia by foreign invaders comprehended not only gold, silver and textiles, but also books. It is related that Tamerlane, at the end of the 14th century, carried away an untold number of Armenian manuscripts to his newly established library at Samarkand.

Today, a conservative estimate places the number of Armenian manuscripts all over the world — in private as well as public libraries — at 20,000 old manuscripts, besides a large but unaccounted-for number of fragments. It should be remembered, however, that of the 20,000 Armenian manuscripts inherited by our present civiliza-

tion, there are less than 20 dating from the 10th century, and only one from the 9th century. Unfortunately, none has reached us from the 5th century to 8th century when, assuredly, tens of thousands of manuscripts were written. They were destroyed, presumably, by time, by elements and especially by human vandalism, ignorance or stupidity.

It is very hard indeed to believe that such a great toll could be taken. The great devotion of the book-loving Armenians could not save this monumental cultural creation. Most of those completely destroyed manuscripts were undoubtedly on vellum which is durable against the ravages of time and the elements. The forces of destruction have, however, nullified the advantages of vellum which is hard to burn and more durable than paper, under adverse conditions of dampness and weather. It is a fact that the oldest Armenian manuscript is an Armenian manuscript dated 967, and this writer himself has the oldest paper fragments of an Armenian manuscript Four Gospels written on paper in the 10th century. The bulk of lost and destroyed Armenian manuscripts, however, must have been vellum after the 8th century and all of them must have been vellum from the 5th to the 8th century.

The devotion of Armenians to writing books was almost fabulous. While invaders coursed through the land of the Armenians from one end to another, while pestil-

ence, famine, earthquakes, and other calamities were in full play, Armenian religious and secular scribes, disregarding those natural and human disasters, dangers and perils to their life and health, still kept writing illuminated manuscripts in the home land or as exiles abroad.

Because of such devotion to books, the Armenians should have early adopted the Gutenberg miracle.

It is true that the appearance of printing was not at first encouraged by the church, nor had it the blessings of religion, for a great many of the books (estimated at 40,000 titles with 20,000,000 issues from the beginning of printing until 1501 A.D.), were not of a religious character. Because of this, one is inclined to believe that the printing press and its products were more a commercial enterprise than a tool of religion and church, or of whatever ideology existed at the time.

The industrialized art of making books by printing should have captured the interest of Armenian merchants who frequented European centers from Bruges to Venice. We have, however, no manifest evidence of such an interest, no records, no books to show if an Armenian press existed before 1512, for it was in that year that the first book with Armenian type was printed. This occurred, of course, in Europe, as we shall see.

Except for the attempts of the Jews in Constantinople, the history of the art of printing in the Near East does not date back to early times. There are scholars who believe that the first printing press, as well as the first Jewish printing press in Constantinople, was established by a Rabbi Kherson, son of Moise or Moses, who in his turn was the son of Rabbi Israel Nathan, of Spira. Moses as well as his father were both printers.

Not much is known about Rabbi Kherson's press which operated until 1530. It is claimed that a Hebrew dictionary was

printed in 1488, but there are no known extant copies of this work. In 1490, a Hebrew book entitled "The History of God's People" was printed by Josef Ben Koriom, to whom other books also are credited. Wolf, in his "Bibliothèque", vol. II, states that the 1488 printed book was not a dictionary but a book of "children's lessons".

At about the same time Columbus was busying himself with the discovery of that new land that later was to be named America, the Jews were driven out of Spain. Of the 300,000 deported, an important part found asylum in Turkey, establishing themselves in Constantinople and Salonica. Printing was a prohibited art in the Ottoman Empire those days, and the Jewish printing efforts were carried out under clandestine conditions. This, and the fact the capital city of the Ottoman Turks, Constantinople, was highly susceptible to fires due to the combustible nature of the tinder dry, laced-like frame houses which sometimes burned down in thousands, no doubt resulted in the destruction of a great many rare art objects, priceless manuscripts and valuable printed books. This alone will explain the non-existence today of copies of books from the early Jewish presses of Rabbi Kherson, Josef Ben Koriom, and others, in Constantinople.

We know that the first Hebrew book was printed by Ben Garton in February, 1475, at Reggio di Calabria. The first book in Constantinople of which copies exist today, printed at the press of David and Samuel Ibn Nachmias, is dated June 5, 1503. Another book, however, entitled "Arba Turim", is claimed to have been printed by them in 1494, but no copy of this work is known to exist today. Although the copies in Constantinople were destroyed, one would naturally ask about copies that might have been sent abroad. My guess is that the unimportant nature of these first printed books prevented a demand for them outside of the locality where they were printed.

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The second known book from the Hebrew press of Constantinople is "Rosh Amanah" (Religious Philosophy), by Isaac Ben Judah Abarbanel, which was printed on November 6, 1505. A copy of this book can be found in the Ben Aitchison library.

The Jewish press in Salonica started in 1515.

The first Armenian press in Constantinople started printing operations in 1567.

The first Greek printing in the same city dates from 1625. This of course is only a small surprise because the first complete Greek text "Batrachomyomachia" was published by Fernandus at Brescia, in 1474, and the first definitely dated Greek book was printed in Milan, Italy, by Paravisinus, in 1476. There were, for instance, a number of Greek presses in Venice, in 1522.

Although the first printed Armenian book is dated 1512, we have records, however, which show that earlier attempts were made at printing in Armenian.

A printing press was first used in Italy, at Subiaco, in 1464. The press was then moved to nearby Rome in 1467. The first printing plant was established in Venice in 1469. The Senate of Venice, with an eye to business, decreed a franchise on printing. It was only later that the ducal government of Venice was satisfied to impose a censorlike supervision on printing. In scarcely 25 years, the printing business of Venice grew to about 200 plants, an amazingly expanded industry that printed, or attempted to print, in almost every language then known. As a comparison, let us point out that during the same period only 37 printing plants were active in Rome, 22 in Florence, 42 in Bologna, while in Paris, Lyon and Milan there were scarcely 150 plants in all. In that brief period of 25 years, it is estimated that 2,000,000 copies of books were printed in Venice, an industry which supplied many Venetians with employment, and which filled many

cargo bottoms of the busily shuttling Venetian merchant marine.

Among the Venetian publishers was one, Democrito Teracina, an enterprising and industrious man, who, on July 15, 1498, tendered a petition to the Doge of Venice and the Senate of the city, informing them that he had a few books to be printed in the Arabic, Moorish, Assyrian, Armenian, Indian and Berber (North African) languages. Teracina said that printing the books would be an expensive proposition for him. The publications were intended to advance Christianity, and to aid the development of science and medicine, "to retain", in the words of the petitioner, "the physical and spiritual health of many and unnumbered Christians."

The petitioner, well aware of his vast difficulties, the expense on him and the great labor, and also the avarice of others who might ruthlessly benefit by his labors by robbing him of the fruits of his work, begs the authorities to grant him a franchise of 25 years, so that he might be the only one in Venice, or within the jurisdiction of the Venetian government, to publish books in those languages, and so that others might not dare to emulate his efforts. He also begs that books in those languages printed outside of the Venetian boundaries should not be transported on Venetian ships, that no Venetian subject be allowed to carry, distribute or sell such books in those lands, that foreign vessels touching Venice should not be permitted to carry such books as cargo. He requests that all so designated contraband and illegal publications should be confiscated and a fine of 200 ducats be imposed, a sum which might be divided equally between the Hospital of St. Anthony and the attorney of the commonwealth. The petitioner himself promises to print no books on the Mohammedan religion, or advocating that religion, or anything that was contrary to the Holy Faith.

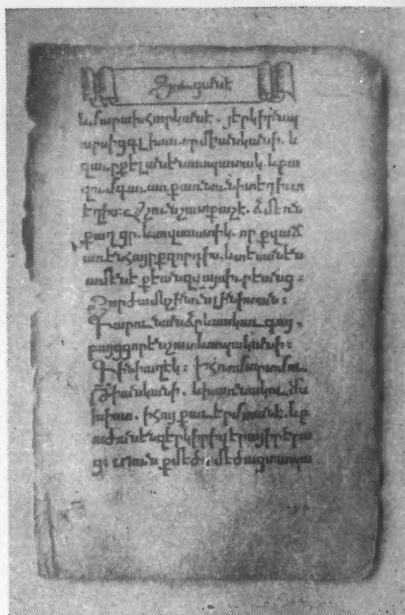
Democrito Teracina died either in 1512

or before May 1513, because at that time a second petition dated May 31, 1513, was tendered the authorities in Venice. In this petition Lelio and Paulo di Maximi, the grandsons of Democrita Teracina, claim that their grandfather had died without receiving just returns for his large investments and his many hardships suffered in his attempt to print the various foreign language books. The petitioners request a new 25 year franchise for the printing of the above mentioned books.

Thus, the privilege of publishing Armenian books among other foreign language books was held by Democrito Teracina and his heirs in Venice from July, 1498, to May 31, 1538.

Some expenses, without any doubt, must have been incurred by Democrito in his attempt to print foreign language works. As early, perhaps, as 1498, or a bit later, some small items might have been printed. This would be particularly true of Armenian printing since a large, active and prosperous Armenian merchants colony existed in Venice from the early days of the 12th century. Among the languages in which Democrito showed interest the Armenian was perhaps the easiest for him to use, for he could have found without any difficulties Armenian collaborators in the enterprise. It would be safe to assume, on the other hand, that Mohammedan colonies of Arabs, Moors and Berbers did not exist in Venice in numbers comparable to the large Armenian colony. Nor were there Assyrians or Indians in any numbers in the city. In as much as Democrito's enterprise was purely a profit-making scheme, the existence of an Armenian colony of merchants in Venice would have been useful to him, and any and all advice necessary could have been thus handily received from the learned and literate members of the Armenian colony.

It would be safe also to assume that some works in the Armenian were published by



Page from the first printed book of the first Armenian Press, printed in Venice in 1513. The book is in the H. Kurdian collection, Wichita, Kansas.

Democrito before he passed away in 1512-1513. Although his grandsons, in their petition, claimed that their grandfather had spent much money and had met many hardships, in his enterprise, in no way did he receive any benefit from all this. The petition does not say that books or other items were not printed; it merely states that no benefits were derived, which can mean that the enterprise had not as yet become profitable, making it necessary that the period of franchise be extended.

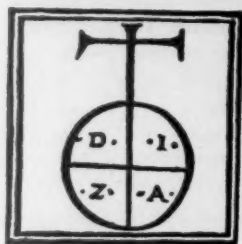
The assumption that Democrito printed a few Armenian books before he passed away is definitely established through the existence of the following few Armenian books:

- (1) A calendar, small octavo, of 59 leaves

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or 118 pages. Has no pagination although each signature is numbered in the Armenian alphabet just like Armenian manuscripts. This was printed in Venice in 1512 (961 of the Armenian era). It has a printer's device as illustrated herewith, bearing the letters D. I. Z. A. This I have been



unable to identify with any known printing House thus far. The book has decorative headpieces, floral capitals, and a ribbon-like decoration over each page. The headpieces, as well as titles and some capitals were executed in red, the rest of the text was printed in black. Of this first known printed Armenian book there are only six copies extant — two are in the Armenian monastic library at Vienna, and one each at the Jerusalem monastic library, at the Munich German state library, at the Erivan state library, and at the Erivan public library.

(2) A Mass Ritual, small octavo, 44 leaves or 88 pages, with the same letters as the above, but with one woodcut picture. It bears the same printer's device and is dated 1513. Up to now, but five copies have been found. There is one copy each at the Jerusalem, Vienna and Venice monastic libraries, and one at the Erivan public library. The fifth copy was in the possession of Armenian Bishop Balian, but is believed to have been destroyed in the fire of Smyrna.

(3) A Friday Book, with almost the same printing and decorations of the first books above. It consists of 54 leaves, or 108 pages, bears the same printer's device and is dated

1513. There are six known copies — one each at the Armenian monastic libraries of Venice, Jerusalem, and Vienna; one each at the Erivan public and literature libraries. The sixth copy, once the property of Bishop Balian, is said to have been destroyed in the same holocaust at Smyrna.

(4) Fortune Telling and Medical Cures. This is the most ambitious and largest of the series. Printed like the others, this book contains 192 leaves, or 384 pages. It bears the same device as the others, but no colophon or date, although there is little doubt that the work was printed either 1512 or 1513. There are single copies at the Armenian monastic libraries of Venice, Jerusalem, and another one at St. Karabet in Caesarea was either lost or destroyed during the deportations of 1915. Another copy is found at the Erivan public library, while the author owns another.

(5) Song Book. Perhaps the most interesting of the series from the literary standpoint. In printing and size it resembles the other books, contains 80 leaves or 160 pages. It bears the same printer's device and was printed in 1513. There are two copies at the Jerusalem monastic library and one at the Erivan literary library. Another copy, in the Bishop Balian collection, met the fate of the other books of the collection.

As has been seen, all five of these books were printed in Venice in 1512-1513 and bear the same printer's device. Although the place of actual printing cannot be identified because of the unsolved riddle of the printer's mark D. I. Z. A., we still have no alternative than to believe that they were published by Democrito Teracina, who had the printing impressions done in the printing house of the unknown D. I. Z. A.

The colophons of these printed Armenian books, however, give the name of an Armenian — "Sinful Hagop". "Sinful" is a humiliating adjective the type of which we always find attached to the names of

scribers, illuminators, etc., appearing in the colophons of Armenian manuscripts.

Other than that we have his name, and that he was somehow connected with the first known series of Armenian printed books, we have no other information on this Hagop. It is obvious, however, that Hagop played an important role in the printing of these books. He must have supplied the original text, read proofs, and generally supervised the printing. The printer, however, was most definitely D. I. Z. A., and the privilege of printing books in Armenian in Venice belonged to Democrito and his grandsons, unless, of course, D. I. Z. A. is their device, or indicates that the book has been printed for them with their permission. Thus, Hagop could have been only a technical assistant in the printing of these books. That, however, will not justify the use of his names in the colophons of the books.

Thus, we can assume that Hagop, a literate and prosperous Armenian marchant in Venice, wishes to print some books in Armenian. It is plain from the texts of the works he publishes that he wants to print popular books, works easily sold to the masses, and not books of scholarly or religious character. Only the second book of the series is more of a religious character. It has 44 leaves in which the ritual and ceremonies of preparing for Mass, and the Mass itself, is described. Even this religious book of Hagop's series was of a popular nature, and was always in great demand everywhere in Armenian churches. Thus, Hagop, with a good eye to profits in the printing business, discovers that the printing in Venice of any Armenian book could be done only on the permission of Democrito and his heirs, so he must have received their permission to publish the works after remunerating them. The printing was then executed for him on the presses of D. I. Z. A.

There is still another point. All of Hagop's

books were printed in 1512-1513. That period coincides with the date of Democrito's death. It seems that with his death his franchise was automatically nullified, otherwise there would have been no necessity for his grandchildren to petition for the renewal of franchise. Democrito's original franchise was for 25 years beginning with 1498; and on his death in 1512-1513, only fifteen years of that period had elapsed. There remained 10 years — or until 1523 — of franchise life. As we see, however, his grandsons, upon their grandfather's decease in 1512-1513, immediately applied for a new franchise of 25 years. If my assumption is correct, and the franchise was nullified with the death of its original owner Democrito, then it could be that Hagop, aware of the event, immediately started publishing his books, and when the new franchise was printed, he was obliged to suspend operations. Only thus can the fact be explained that five books were printed before and after 1513 until 1565, an unusual unproductive jump of 53 years when again the printing press started to produce printed Armenian books.¹

The second known attempt at Armenian printing was the hand-work of an Armenian by the name of Deacon Apkar of Tocat and his son Sultanshah, or by his Italian name, Marcanthonyo.

Apkar was sent from Armenia to Rome to advance the cause of Armenia's liberation. Realizing eventually the fruitlessness of such a dream in Europe, he decided to benefit his nation by doing something

¹ In the petition of, Lelio and Paulo di Maximi, however, no reference is made anywhere to Armenian printing. There remains the question of the Armenian matrix that Hagop used. Who prepared them? Could they be prepared in the brief span of a year; could the type then have been cast and then these five first Armenian books be printed — again in this short period? Did Hagop need permission from the Senate of Venice to print them? These are questions that should be answered, and I believe the answers can be found somewhere in the archives of Venice.

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concrete, something that could be used for the education and enlightenment of his nation. And so he attempted to learn and put to use the art of printing. Unfortunately, in his time, regulations covering printing were extremely rigid, permission was not easily granted. In Rome, Apkar was able to receive the required liberty from Pope Pius IV and, fortified with this mandate, he went to Venice and printed the first book off his press in 1565, a calendar, and then a Book of Psalms. As was his original desire, he soon turned up in Constantinople with his idea and his press.

Meanwhile, in 1567, an Armenian printing press was in operation in Constantinople. This was founded by an Armenian engraver, one Hotor. Apkar's arrival in Constantinople gave new impetus to this press but, due to insurmountable conditions, mostly resulting from the actions of the Sultan and the Ottoman government, the

enterprise did not have a long life, a thing true with other such presses. Armenian printing continued in Rome, Lemberg, Amsterdam, Venice and Marseille. At the same time, many books published in Constantinople attributed their printing to such European cities as Leghorn.

A most noteworthy and miraculously successful attempt at printing in Armenian was carried out in the remote city of Isphahan, in Persia. There, in the monastery of New Julfa, an Armenian scholar and priest by the name of Khachadur prepared matrix, cast type, readied the press, paper and ink, and printed remarkably elaborate and good books, without ever having seen type casting, a printing press or the process of printing in his life anywhere. This press was founded in 1639. His was the first press established in any language in the then great empire of Persia.



NIGHTMARE LEDGE

SARKIS EMINIAN

The shells had stopped screaming. The short staccato of machine gun fire had ceased. The shouting, frightened men had melted into the background of the bleak Korean hills. Only the wind raged through the cold air as the men sleeping in their bunkers huddled a little closer. Silence and scurrying rats had replaced the agonized cries of men and their guns. Night had come to Korea, and sleep to a few lucky soldiers. But not to Captain John Karian, who squirmed in his damp sleeping bag. His junior officer Lieutenant Peter Arnold reached over to shake him.

"John," he whispered, "John, you're dreaming again."

Karian shook his head and blinked his eyes. He stared at Arnold for a moment before he recognized him.

The blond-haired lieutenant lit a cigarette and gave it to Karian.

"When the hell will I stop dreaming," he muttered. "I'm up to here with it," motioning to his throat.

"Is it the Turk again?" asked the lieutenant, knowing that it was.

"Yes, the Turk, and the Turks," said Karian, "Killing my parents and slaughtering the other Armenians. Same thing over and over again," he muttered, running his hand through his graying hair.

The captain was tired. Tired of war and tired of all the killing he had seen. The Turks had taught him to hate war and every thing it stood for. Now that the Turks were in Korea all the hellish memories of his childhood came rushing back.

"Go away," he said, shaking his head.

Lieutenant Arnold studied the slender, olive-skinned man who was his commanding officer. The captain had been a steady man until the Turkish soldiers had been attached to their platoon.

Karian took a deep drag on the cigarette and looked at Arnold. How could Arnold understand the reasons for the dreams? His early life had probably been that of cowboy pictures, Christmas presents, and baseball games. At nine Karian had seen his parents killed by the Turks. He thought of the horrible dream, and the familiar events.

He was hiding behind the blue curtains that hid the bed. His father stood in the center of the room waiting expectantly for the Turks who were in the Armenian Quarter. He held a short club in his right hand. The little boy's thin body shook as the screams increased. It all happened suddenly. A young, beardless Turk with a huge "V" scar on his chest rushed in and bayoneted his father. He turned and smashed his mother's head with the rifle butt. For a second he stood there panting, bare-chested, with blood dripping from the bayonet and the rifle butt.

For a moment he glanced wildly around the room, and then shouting wildly, raced out into the street. John was terrified. He knew he would never forget the grimy, roughneck who had murdered that day. And then he began to cry.

"Swinging swords and swinging axes," he said absently.

"What?" asked the lieutenant.

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"Nothing, nothing," said the captain.

Swinging swords and swinging axes — and bodies without heads. The Turks were plundering, murdering, swarming everywhere. 1915, a year of hell. Every time he heard a screaming shell he thought of the slaughtered people. Little Paul was always in his dream. Little Paul who took poison and crawled into a corner to die. Little Paul who always begged to be taken along — but he was lucky — he missed the march.

The long fatal march began along a bloody road strewn with thousands of corpses. Turks were shouting *Vour! (Strike!)* *Vour! (Strike!)* as they slaughtered helpless women and girls. Babies plummeted down on raised bayonets. Women and babies lay scattered about with ripped-out bellies and butchered bodies.

Laughing Turks fought for the possession of a young girl. The winner carried her off. The laughter sounded so much like that of the Turks in their bunkers.

The captain thought about the Hodji, the white-robed Hodji that always appeared near the end of his dream. Karian heard the mysterious child-like voice that always asked the Hodji the same question.

"What will happen to us, Hodji effendi?"

"Who knows, child," he would answer. "Have faith in God."

The voice's reply always disturbed Karian.

"God, effendi"? it would say. "Who's God, yours or ours?"

Karian continued to move through the haze of his dream. He knew it was almost over because he recognized the Turk at the end of his dream. Suddenly he was grown-up and faced the Turk with a club in his hand. He swung the club and felt the Turks face melt into the haze of his dream sneering and laughing at him. That always woke him up.

"I'm sorry, Arnold," said Karian, breaking the silence. "I guess this is getting to be rough on you."

"No sir, not that," the lieutenant answered. "I just hope you're alright because the men need you."

Yes Arnold, my men need me, he thought. But me, how about me? Don't I need someone too? Can you understand what it's like to live with something like this? No, you wouldn't, would you. I envy you, lost in your dreams of what? Girls? Schooldays? Why did I ever have to come here — to a world of terror and dreams. Karian longed to be back in Watertown. He ached to see his wife and two daughters. Just to sit at the supper table on a Friday night. His silent plea was answered by the faint snoring of Arnold.

Get your sleep, he thought, because in a few hours you'll be needing all the strength you have. In a few hours we'll have to go after those red machine guns up on the hill. The guns were chopping up the whole damn army, but what was more important, they were holding-up the army drive and the "brass" was complaining. They should have been three hills ahead by now. Hills, thought the captain, would these endless hills never stop?

Nameless, strange, and forsaken except for moments when a handful of men would dig in with frozen fingers and try to hold one — or die. Karian thought that perhaps there was a hill at the end of these hills. The pappy of them all. He smiled as he thought, perhaps the brass would be stumped then. He realized that he was tired. War was hell on a man his age.

He glanced at the four letters on the portable radio. Four more dead boys whose parents had to be told. A few days ago the boys had been alive, had dreamed, had wished, had suffered. Now all they owned was a small bit of foreign ground with a white cross. Their helmets were their flowers and the dogtags served as their epitaphs. Wars changed in name and appearance, but soldiers went on dying the same way, and

the letters were still being written the same way.

"Dear Mrs. So-and-So, I am your son's commanding officer. Pardon me but he died valiantly holding a piece of land — until a shell blew his head off. We buried him giving him full honors — After we found the pieces."

Karian thought of the priority a piece of land had over a person. He thought about the day he had worked at General Headquarters. The General had cranked the handle on the phone and shouted for more men to breach a gap. How ironic life was that allowed one man to twist a handle and send hundreds to death. It overwhelmed him. Finally his tired mind and body gave in to sleep.

It was five o'clock when Corporal Murchison woke him and Arnold. He dressed quickly and stepped out into the crisp morning air. He faced the tired, frightened group of soldiers who were hunched over, in their heavy jackets. The air seemed to slice through the coats like a sharp knife.

"Jackson, Matthews, Reynold and Parker will go with me," he said. "The others will follow Lieutenant Arnold. We're going up this mountain to wipe out the machine gun and mortar nests that are holding us back." The men shifted nervously. "Headquarters says they're halfway up this rock."

Karian revealed his plan to Arnold and the men. Arnold was to flank his left, and the Turks were to flank his right. He and the Turks were to draw the enemy fire, while Arnold circled around them and attacked from the rear. It was simple, and it was murder. He watched Arnold disappear, and waited another ten minutes before he ordered his men to move.

They scrambled up the ridge creeping along the rocky ledges and pointed slopes. Their pace seemed almost endless. Karian was breathing hard as he moved on. His fingers and limbs ached and trembled. The mountain seemed to be a continuous series

ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Sarkis Eminian, a newcomer to the REVIEW, is currently continuing his studies in literature after having graduated from Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O., last year, as the recipient of a Bachelor of Arts degree in English. As a Reserve undergraduate, Eminian contributed to *Skyline*, the university's literary magazine, and was a Dean's List student. A veteran of naval combat action in World War II, Eminian served aboard the USS Niagara, and the USS Badoeng Straits, the latter an aircraft carrier, in Pacific waters. He has been long active in patriotic Armenian American youth circles in his native Cleveland as a member of both the Armenian Youth Federation and the young peoples' ARF Committee. Writes he: "Three books influenced me in the creation of my story: *Fall of the Aerie*, by A. Haigaz; *The History of the Armenian People*, by Jacques de Morgan; and V. C. Vahan's *History of Armenia*. I still don't clearly see the connection between the three books and the story, unless it's the depth and feeling they give of being Armenian. In any case, if I have succeeded in transferring this feeling to my story than I am satisfied."

of razor-sharp ridges. The men were silent as they moved forward. They seemed to be in a hypnotized state. Karian sobbed as he edged his middle-aged body over jagged rocks and crags. The pace was painfully slow. He peered eagerly for some sign of movement, but was only repelled by a wave of silence that seemed to slip down the

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hill. Travel had become a series of jarring jolts and stumbles.

He felt the surge of fear that ran through the men. His military experience keyed him to sense it. It was panic, a terror, that gripped them as they moved toward their object. He stood up now sensing something. The fear of being watched by unseen eyes made him sweat. He moved forward again, hugging the ground. He urged his men forward twenty yards at a time. And then they had reached the final ridge. He gazed at the spacious ledge in the mountain. The tension increased. He wanted to vomit as he strained to hear noises — all he heard was his heart tripping away. These patrols! They were as bad as his dreams. Just one big jumbled nightmare rolled into a tiny ball in his stomach.

Karian gazed at the spacious ledge. He darted behind a rock, as the others moved up. He moved along the edge of the large boulders. The inside of his shirt was wet with sweat. His pants stuck to his sweaty thighs. Still no sound, and yet he knew this was the spot. He sensed it. His throat ached for water. He froze as he saw a machine gun! His eyes strained in the early dawn, and his back ached as he choked back a sob.

Teeeeooo! Teeeeooo! Teeeeooo!

The shots went slicing off the rocks. The whole area exploded with sound as machine gun fire and rifle shots came sweeping towards them from the ledge's belly. Men jumped for cover, digging and clawing into the ground in a frightened frenzy. The Turks were jumping for cover too. The bullets continued whizzing and whirring around the men and the rocks.

Viiing! Viiing! Viiing! Karian dug deeper, hugging the ground and screaming with the noise. His heart was pounding fast as he gulped for air. He never got a chance to order his men back, for at that moment he heard the crackling sound and swoosh of the mortar shells. He felt the dust and brok-

en stones slap at his body. If only Arnold was successful. If only he could get through. The firing ceased and it was silent again. The silence took over and washed away the noise. Karian glanced at his men — not one moved. Not one groaned. They made no move to seek cover. They were dead. And Karian thought how little he knew these men who had died for a piece of ground. Where was Arnold?

He edged to his right and crawled for about one hundred yards. His hands were bleeding from the sharp stones. It was getting light now. He stared back at the quiet ledge, which was about one hundred and fifty yards away. Nightmare ledge, he thought, what an appropriate name for it. His dreams, and this rotten piece of rock, both a real nightmare. And then the ground shook as he heard firing again. He looked back and knew it was Arnold. The flurry of shots lasted for at least ten minutes. He looked at the ledge through his binoculars, and saw his men moving into the red stronghold. Arnold had done it.

Karian started to move toward the ledge again, but stopped when he heard a groan. He stared at his right and crouched. He moved forward cautiously. He heard the groan and the strange sounding words. The wounded man was a Turkish officer. He lay against a large boulder holding his left shoulder.

The captain stood in front of the wounded Turk. Karian recognized him as the officer he had seen earlier in the week at headquarters. His hatred for the Turks rose in him.

Karian recognized the word "effendi" that the Turk kept repeating in his jumble of Turkish words. That meant "sir." He looked at the bearded, old officer who lay against the rock. So damn courteous when they needed help. So damn polite. The Turk was asking for help. How much help had his parents received? Karian's bitterness spilled out. For years he had nursed his

hatred and here was a Turk, a real Turk in his grasp. Here was his nightmare. Should I kill him or not, he thought. For one long moment he weighed the thought, and then moved forward to help the wounded man.

He moved forward and saw the Turk break into a smile showing his yellow decayed teeth. The smile irritated him and he stopped. Then he moved forward and opened his heavy khaki battle jacket. The bullet had entered his left shoulder, and the old man had lost a lot of blood.

The captain opened the shirt and ripped the heavy undershirt. Then he saw it! It seemed to slap his face. He grew hot and dizzy for a moment. His heart beat, and his temples pounded as he gazed at the cruel V-shape scar on the Turk's shoulder. The "V" seemed to etch itself into Karian's mind. He struggled for words. The two faced each other, while the wind swept around the rocks. Karian searched for words, but the pressure on his throat choked back the words.

"You swine, you filthy swine," was all he could mutter. He moved in and took the Turk's pistol.

The frightened Turk stared at Karian, knowing something was terribly wrong. He started a torrent of unintelligible words. He stared at Karian.

"You don't recognize me, do you?" said Karian. "But I know you. Dream after dream I've met you, and killed you. I'll bet you don't even remember killing my parents. But I remember."

The Turk was astonished, and frightened. He saw the tears roll down the stranger's face. He listened to the angered man talk. The wounded officer heard the word "Armenian", and glanced quickly at Karian.

"Bring my father and mother back," said Karian, staring angrily at the Turk.

"Bring them back," he repeated.

"BRING THEM BACK," he screamed. His voice echoed off the huge rocks.

The scar seemed to grow whiter as Kar-

ian's rage mounted with the wind. The Turk was shivering and holding his wounded shoulder. The blood streamed over the scar.

"I'm going to kill you," said Karian. "Perhaps my dreams will end too."

He pulled out his pistol. Its well-oiled black surface glistened as he pointed it at the Turk. The Turk cringed.

"Don't cringe," said Karian, "my mother didn't."

Karian's heart was beating fast as he moved forward. The Turk began to shout.

"Ermenil (Armenian) Ermenil (Armenian!) Ermenil (Armenian!)" Sweat glistened on the Turk's forehead. For an eternity Karian pointed the gun at the Turk's head. His finger pressed on the trigger. The pressure became greater — and then suddenly his arm dropped. The gun hung loosely in his hand. Karian sobbed.

"Goddamn you, Goddamn you," he rasped. He shook his head.

"I can't, I just can't. All my life I've dreamed of revenge. Why shouldn't I kill you? It's right isn't it? An eye for an eye?" He seemed to speak to someone, trying to justify his cause. But he received no answer.

Deep inside Karian knew he couldn't do it. He realized that it wasn't up to him to judge this man or his race. He knew there was someone far greater than himself who would hand out punishment. Only it would never bring back his parents — or the others. It would never bring back two million murdered Armenians.

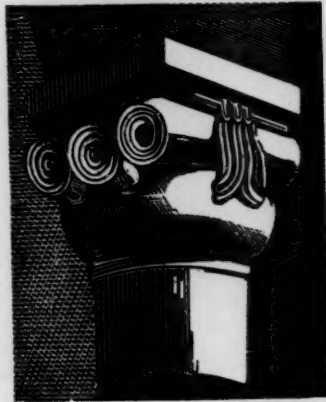
Suddenly, he felt free. He knew that the pain, the dreams, the old memories would no longer trouble him. Somehow, by chance, he had met this man under strange circumstances. It would alter his whole life. All the bitterness, hate, and sorrow that had been with him for thirty-eight years seemed to leave now.

He knew that he had done the right thing. In that split second that he had drop-

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ped his arm his battle was won. He knew that he wouldn't be bothered by dreams anymore.

"Who's God, Hodji- Your's or ours?"
"Mine, Hodji, mine," said Karian, as he helped the Turk to his feet.



THE OFFICE-BOY WHO MADE GOOD

PART I

NUBAR KAZANJIAN

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THE LORD
MICHAEL
GABRIEL
ARIEL

FARMER
CARPENTER
SCIENTIST
POET
COMMUNIST
CAPITALIST
FASCIST
ARAB

PRIEST
MINISTER
BOY
YOUNG MAN
CHINESE

AND A HAWAIIAN DANCING-GIRL

If so desired, the impersonations of those on Earth may be additionally caricatured with masks. And since economy may be looked forward to, it is here observed that the first four characters in the second row of Dramatis Personae can, and may, impersonate a selection of four of those that follow them.

(The LORD's office in Heaven; just one long desk, Center-stage, with a swivel-chair behind it, an ash-stand beside it, two arm-chairs to the Right of it, and a phonograph on a stand to the Left of it; all before a background of the open firmament.

The desk consists of two end-pieces supporting their only common link the glass top. And the end-pieces themselves each consist of an upper drawer and a lower cabinet.

In the cabinet at the Left are the charts and maps; in that on the Right, the Ambrosia and glasses. The Left drawer is not used. But in the Right one are to be found the LORD's cigars.

On the desk, Left, is an inter-com; Right, a telephone and an ash-tray. And on the

stand beneath the phonograph is a single album of records.

Entrances and exits are from Right and Left, Front; and in the T.V. scenes, from Right Rear as well. The cord, or rope, that lets down the T.V. screen, is at Right Front. The lightswitch is at Left. And since this is Heaven the lighting should be as bright and as light as possible.

At Curtain, the LORD is seated, quite comfortably, in his swivel-chair. He has just accepted a cigar from the box which ARIEL, his office-boy, is holding. And there is further company in the form of the Arch-angel GABRIEL who, at the moment, is strutting about quite self-assuredly.

The LORD is about 50, large portly, cherubic, and he wears a white suit with gold trimmings. GABRIEL is approximately 30, athletic, and, as a matter of fact, decked out right now in the athletic togs of competitors in Olympic events. And ARIEL is 12, bright, eager, and ambitious and dressed on colors complementary to the LORD's.

All those presented as being in, or visiting, Heaven are Negroes except that at the very end a Hawaiian dancing girl also manages to gain admittance. And, on the other hand, all those, excepting ARIEL, presented as being on Earth are White men.

As ARIEL now takes out his pocket-lighter to light the LORD's cigar, the LORD speaks:)

LORD

Why the way you talk about broad-jumpin, Gabe, you'd think nobody in this here Heaven can beat you at it.

(The LORD lights up and puffs away. ARIEL replaces everything.)

GABRIEL

Well they've tried, Lord, ain't they? And they been tryin for a long time; last year, and the year before that. And I'm gonna take this Meet today too. Wait and see.

ARIEL

I bet I beat you some day, Gabe.

GABRIEL

Ah quit it, kid. You know you can't jump no eight trillion light-years in one hop; not yet you can't.

ARIEL

No, but I can jump two trillion.

LORD

You ever been set up against me?

GABRIEL

No. But I've been wonderin about it.

LORD

Yeah?

GABRIEL

Lord, with your Perfection I know you can do anything and beat anybody. But if; mind you, I say if; you lay aside your Perfection for just one minute, for just one Meet, I'll lay you two to one I beat you too.

LORD

Cocky, ain't you.

GABRIEL

Just know what I can do, that's all.

LORD

Well now you just hush up, Gabe. You can bet on the sly when I ain't lookin, but you can't bet with me now; not with Ariel around anyway. 'Cause there ain't supposed to be gamblin in this here Heaven, see. Right Ariel?

ARIEL

(Slyly) — Yeah. And there ain't supposed to be no smokin.

LORD

(Conscience-stricken) — Who said that! . . .

(He perceives the cigar in his hand and ducks it quickly in the ash-stand.)

. . . That's right. No smokin. Ahm. All of a sudden I feel kinda dry.

ARIEL

And no drinkin either.

LORD

Here, now you listen here, Ariel-boy, that there, in my desk, is Ambrosia. Why everybody knows that the Lord drinks Ambrosia. Now you just go and get it out of there like a good little office-boy and pour me a glass, hear?

ARIEL

(Suddenly eager) — O. K. can I have a drink now too? I'm 12, you know.

LORD

I know.

ARIEL

Well?

LORD

Well you just hold on to your wings a little while longer yet, son.

ARIEL

Aw, Lord, you can't even see I'm a man already.

LORD

(Chuckling) — Just listen to the boy talk.

ARIEL

Aw. . .

(But he does as requested, takes out the Ambrosia and one glass and pours.)

. . . Gee, it smells good.

LORD

It tastes even better.

GABRIEL

Well ain't you gonna offer me a glass too, Lord?

LORD

Sure, Gabe; that is if you want one.

GABRIEL

You bet. . .

(The LORD nods, ARIEL pours another.)

The LORD sips his, GABRIEL tosses his down.)

... Ahhhhhh!

LORD

Glad you dropped in for a visit before the Meet, Gabe.

GABRIEL

Well you told me to take a whole day off from my Department.

LORD

I figured Communications could get along without you for the Broad-jumpin day.

GABRIEL

And I don't have to practice none either before the openin gun like all the others are doin outside 'cause I can beat em the way I stand.

LORD

Mmm. So you said.

ARIEL

Who sez there ain't supposed to be gamblin, drinkin, and smokin around here anyway, Lord?

LORD

Why the ministers I got down there on Earth I reckon, Ariel. They're always tellin what's supposed to be up here, and what's not supposed to be. Guess I can't make liars out of my own ministers now, can I? Leastways not right out in the open.

ARIEL

Ah, why don't you wise em up.

GABRIEL

Sure, Lord, why don't you?

LORD

Better ask me to create another universe without them in it as ask me to wise em up, fellas. They'd snap my head off.

ARIEL

But you're the Lord God, ain't you?

LORD

Watchin how my chosen ones behave I sometimes wonder who's God and who isn't.

GABRIEL

Well, anyhow, bet or no bet, I still think

I can beat you; without your Perfection, that is.

LORD

Now, now, Gabe, pride goeth before the fall. Besides I can't lay down my Perfection even for a second. Otherwise I wouldn't be perfect no more.

GABRIEL

Then why did you ask me if I wanted to be set up against you for? You as much as said it, didn't you?

LORD

Sure did. But I was just tryin to teach you some humility, that's all. Remember what I said about pride.

(And he takes another sip.)

ARIEL

Just give me one more year, or two. Then I bet I jump eight trillion light-years too, in one hop.

GABRIEL

Ah, quit it will you, kid? Besides you gotta beat it, not just tie it.

ARIEL

I will.

LORD

(Sipping again) — Ahhh, that Ambrosia. Lucky my ministers down there can't really see all the way up here. Here, what'd I do with my seegar. O yeah. . .

(He finds it and puffs away contentedly)
... Mmmm. That's some peace pipe.

GABRIEL

(Sniffing enviously) — Lord, I hope you don't mind my sayin so, but it appears to me like your hospitality is slippin today. Ain't you gonna offer me one too?

LORD

Sure, sure. But ain't you supposed to be in trainin?

GABRIEL

With the competition I got? Huh!

(The LORD nods, ARIEL produces, and GABRIEL accepts one, and a light, ARIEL replaces everything. The glasses, for the moment, remain.)

LORD

Yessir, pride.

GABRIEL

Thanks.

LORD

I remember one angel you couldn't beat broad-jumpin, Gabe.

GABRIEL

Who's that. Who's that.

LORD

Jumped a thousand times longer in one jump than you ever did.

GABRIEL

A thousand. . . !

LORD

Yep.

GABRIEL

You ain't kiddin, are you?

LORD

Who's kiddin? As a matter of fact that was a rank understatement. I shoulda said he's already jumped a million times longer in one jump than you'll ever do.

GABRIEL

A million!

LORD

Yep. He sure was some jumper. Reckon you don't remember him, do you.

ARIEL

Gee, who is he anyway, Lord. Who is he?

GABRIEL

What's his name.

LORD

You mean, what was his name.

ARIEL

Alright, Lord, what was his name?

LORD

Lucifer.

ARIEL

Lucifer!

GABRIEL

Lucifer! That's right.

ARIEL

Gosh, Lucifer!

LORD

Yep. Jumped from here all the way down

to Hell in one jump. Now I don't figure you'll ever match that, will you?

GABRIEL

Not unless I wanna go to Hell too.

LORD

Do you?

GABRIEL

No! No!

ARIEL

Gosh!

GABRIEL

Ah, you ain't got it in for me today, have you, Lord?

LORD

Now what makes you say a thing like that? Course I haven't. Here, since you don't care about trainin, have another seegar. Stick it in your pocket and smoke it later. Make you feel better.

(The LORD takes a cigar from the box in the drawer and sticks it in GABRIEL'S pocket.)

ARIEL

Yeah. The Lord was only joshin you, Gabe.

GABRIEL

O. K.

LORD

Good.

ARIEL

How about a shine, Lord?

LORD

O. K. . .

(ARIEL exits Right.)

. . . Now let me see what's next on my agenda. Hmm. . . (MICHAEL now walks in from Left with a sheaf of papers and reports. He's around 35, and he, too, is an Arch-angel, but more the intellectual, secretarial type. As a matter of fact he is the LORD's secretary. His clothes are also complementary to the LORD's in color.

ARIEL now re-enters with a shine-box, and immediately gets to work on the LORD's shoes.)

. . . Well, well, my secretary. And how's the world spinnin this P.M., Michael?

MICHAEL

Fine, Lord, fine; last I saw it.

LORD

That's fine.

ARIEL

Why don't you let me help you spin em all. Michael. Huh? Why don't you?

MICHAEL

What the stars, galaxies, and everything?

ARIEL

Sure. I can do it. I'm 12.

MICHAEL

Maybe so. But you know I don't do the actual spinnin. As the Lord's secretary I just oversee it; supervise it, sort of.

ARIEL

Well I can do that too, can't I?

MICHAEL

Maybe so. Growin fast, ain't you.

ARIEL

Sure. I'm gonna amount to something.

MICHAEL

Well no harm in that so long as you don't hurt yourself, or the next fella gettin there. Eh, Lord?

LORD

That's right.

ARIEL

Well? You gonna let me help you? The Lord don't need me here all the time.

MICHAEL

Maybe so, Ariel, but not today.

ARIEL

Aw. Never give an angel a break. Remember pride goeth before the fall.

MICHAEL

Huh?

LORD

It sure does, little Ariel. But what's that gotta do with Michael?

ARIEL

(*Peevishly*) — I dunno.

LORD

(*Chuckling*) — Me neither.

(*The others grin at the boy's discomfort and good intentions.*)

ture and good intentions.)

MICHAEL

I got some reports here for you, Lord.

LORD

O. K. Toss em off.

MICHAEL

Well, first of all, the angelic choir has drawn up a list here. They say they just gotta have some more harps.

LORD

How many?

MICHAEL

68.

LORD

(*Making a motion*) — Harps! . . . O. K. They got em. Next.

MICHAEL

Next, the Committee on the Investigation of Conditions in Hell says its too dark down there and they can't see any conditions.

LORD

Mmm. Maybe I oughta give Satan a break and give him some more light down there. I'll have to see about that. Go on.

MICHAEL

Well. . .

LORD

Yeah?

MICHAEL

Well, it's about the Athletic Committee, Lord.

LORD

Well, what about the Athletic Committee?

MICHAEL

Well, they're sendin in a complaint.

LORD

Well, what about?

MICHAEL

Well, it's about one Arch-angel Gabriel.

GABRIEL

About me?

MICHAEL

Sorry Gabe. That's what it sez here.

GABRIEL

They complainin about me?

MICHAEL

Guess so, Gabe.

GABRIEL

What about?

MICHAEL

The Committee says you're indulgin in too much "Braggadacio". Here's the word, see? "Braggadacio". You can look it up if you don't know what it means.

GABRIEL

I know what it means.

ARIEL

I know what it means too. It means he's braggin too much. Don't it, Lord?

LORD

That's a fact. Looks like your sins are catchin up to you, Gabe.

GABRIEL

Just because they can't jump no eight trillion light-years like me. Just because I'm still champ. What's wrong with statin a fact, Lord. What's wrong with that anyhow?

LORD

Nuthin wrong about statin a fact. And there sure ain't nuthin wrong about bein champ. Except people know it already. It's kinda rubbin it in when you remind em of it all the time, ain't it?

GABRIEL

Ah, I got a good mind to chuck this whole Meet today. Will you excuse me, Lord?

LORD

Sure. About time for the Meet to start anyhow, huh?

GABRIEL

Yeah.

(And he exits, Left, chewing on his cigar.)

ARIEL

But the Meet's not for another half-hour yet.

LORD

Now you just hush your mouth a little, child. First thing grown-up angels of 12 oughta know is that sometimes angels need time to cool off too.

ARIEL

Oh, sure. I knew that. How's that?
(The LORD admires his shine)

LORD

That's just fine, Ariel. Thanks.

ARIEL

(On his way out, Right) — You're welcome.

(He exits and returns again, almost immediately wiping his hands surreptitiously on some part of himself.)

LORD

Anything else, Michael?

MICHAEL

Just one more thing. The Angelic Committee for the Introduction of Women into Heaven is sendin you another petition. Here it is.

LORD

(With some emotion) — I put the women in Limbo and that's where they're gonna stay; for the present. And that's final; for now.

ARIEL

But why, Lord? Why?

LORD

You back already?

ARIEL

Yep.

LORD

Wash your hands?

ARIEL

Sure.

LORD

Let me see. . . Hmm. Can't see no dark spots.

ARIEL

But why is it final for now about women, Lord?

LORD

Son, you don't know nuthin about women and, boy, am I glad for you. They're nuthin but trouble; nuthin but trouble. Don't you get caught by em, hear? Take the advice of your Lord God and stay clear.

ARIEL

Sounds like you had a bad time with em, Lord.

LORD

Bad time with em? Tell me: Who was it tempted Adam and brought all the miseries into this whole wide world?

ARIEL

(*Brightly*) — Evel

LORD

Who was launched a thousand ships and destroyed ten thousand men?

ARIEL

Helen!

LORD

What comes after Antony?

ARIEL

Cleopatal

LORD

Well, there you are.

ARIEL

Huh?

LORD

Well, ain't that enough?

ARIEL

Is it?

LORD

Sure is. Let's see what kinda names they're callin me this time. Hmm. "repressed" . . . "inhibited" . . . "unprogressive" . . . Huh. Same old things. Nuthin new. They're sure lucky I'm democratic, 'cause if I was a dictator I'd just round em all up and pack away someplace. Yessir!

MICHAEL

The male and the female genders feel kinda keen about each other, Lord. I hate to sound like a squealer but I even been hearin some talk about smugglin already.

LORD

With me around? Don't I know everything? Don't I see everything?

MICHAEL

Sure, sure. But how about when you're sleepin.

LORD

Yeah. That is a problem. But then they

gotta pass through Customs. Everybody leavin Heaven, or comin back in, gotta pass Customs. Why I'll wager. . .

ARIEL

(*Peremptory*) — No wagerin!

LORD

Just a figure of speech, boy. What I was gonna say is this: If anybody can smuggle a female into Heaven without my knowin about it he's right welcome to her. That's all I gotta say. They'd all be welcome to em.

MICHAEL

You mean even if only one angel managed to sneak one single female into Heaven without you knowin about it everybody can have em?

LORD

Anybody and everybody. If you want em so bad you can all be welcome to the trouble.

MICHAEL

(*Breathlessly*) — Wait'll the boys hear about this!

ARIEL

Gee, you mean it?

LORD

I always mean what I say, Ariel. Don't tell me you gonna try too.

ARIEL

(*Envisioning*) — I dunno, Lord. I don't know from nuthin. Girls!

LORD

(*Chuckling*) — Could be you are growin up at that.

ARIEL

Yeah.

LORD

Well just the same I still gotta watch out for your soul. So you just take it easy for awhile longer, you hear?

ARIEL

(*Still entranced*) — Sure, sure. I'll take those reports out and file em away for you, Michael. Girls. Wowwow!

(*He exits, Left.*)

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LORD

Well, looks like you all are deliberately tryin to find the trouble I'm tryin to hide from you. Looks like my best intention ain't appreciated. Well. Seegar, Michael? Drink?

MICHAEL

Just the seegar, Lord, I gotta quiet down a bit. Thanks. Whewww!

(The LORD lights it for him. GABRIEL new re-enters, minus his cigar, and followed closely by ARIEL)

ARIEL

(Excitedly) — I told him about the women!

(But its very evident that GABRIEL hasn't been paying attention having something else on his mind. The LORD goes to him quickly and pumps his hand vigorously)

LORD

Why, look who's here. Haven't seen you in ten minutes, boy. Where you been keepin yourself anyway on this holiday.

GABRIEL

(With his basic humility) Lord, I wanna apologize.

LORD

Well, shucks, nobody'll ever stop you from doin that.

GABRIEL

I know I was wrong about shootin off my mouth everyplace about how I was champ, and about how there was no competition with me around. I . . . I . . .

ARIEL

Yeah? Go on.

GABRIEL

Well, there ain't much more to say except I'm gonna see the Committee and apologize to them too.

ARIEL

You know, it makes me feel good to hear you apologize, Gabe. I think I'll tag along and hear you apologize all over again.

GABRIEL

I'll go through with it, kid.

LORD

We know you will, Gabe.

ARIEL

I know it too!

GABRIEL

O. K. Come on then.

LORD

Naw. Stick around.

GABRIEL

Don't you want me to tell em I'm sorry?

LORD

Sure, sure; but later. They hadn't oughta be complainin about every little thing anyway. I'm gonna go ahead and listen to my Celestial Symphony; see how things are tickin in my universe. You stick around and listen too.

GABRIEL

Thanks, Lord.

LORD

Don't mention it.

MICHAEL

Nice knowin you, Gabe.

GABRIEL

Ah, it wasn't nuthin.

ARIEL

Same here, Gabe.

GABRIEL

Ah, quit it, kid.

MICHAEL

I'll put the Symphony on.

(He goes to the phonograph and the record-album and prepares to do just that.)

ARIEL

Hey Gabe, I got an idea.

GABRIEL

Yeah?

ARIEL

When you're jumpin out there in Space, over eight trillion light-years, why don't you take your trumpet along and sound it. It'd sound through all of God's whole universe. I'd do it if I was you.

GABRIEL

Well you ain't me. Can't do two things at one time and do em both well, can you?

ARIEL

Guess not.

GABRIEL

Course.

LORD

You still got time for the Meet ain't you, Gabe?

GABRIEL

'Bout 20 minutes.

LORD

Good. Have another seegar.

GABRIEL

Uhuh.

LORD

Ambrosia?

GABRIEL

No thanks, Lord. I'm back in trainin again; until after the Meet anyway.

(The LORD grins, well-pleased)

MICHAEL

Symphony's ready. Listen.

ARIEL

Aw, symphonies!

(Disgruntled, he picks up the glasses and exits, Right. The Celestial Symphony now plays. It's a swelling composition, naturally. In it, there may be a part for a trumpet. If so, it's GABRIEL's and they look at him pretty proudly. Another moment, or so, and ARIEL returns, drawn, despite himself, by the music's appeal. He just stands, Right, and lends an ear. Then, at a pause. . .)

LORD

The music of my spheres. Ain't it beautiful? . . .

(The clouds formed by his, and MICHAEL's cigars promote the feeling of a transcendental moment when, suddenly, a sour note is heard)

. . . What was that?

GABRIEL

(The musician) — A sour note!

LORD

In my Symphony?

GABRIEL

I got a pretty good ear for music.

MICHAEL

Nuthin wrong with the machine.

LORD

Shhhh. . .

(The listen some more and sure enough the same sour note is heard again and again)

. . . Stop that music! . . . Michael, Gabe, I want you to trace that sour note from the sphere that it's comin from, you hear? Immediately! Check every sphere in my entire universe if you have to but find it. Gabe, I'll tell em to delay the Meet awhile. This is serious!

GABRIEL

Right!

LORD

You comin or stayin, son?

ARIEL

I'll stick around and watch how they do it.

LORD

O. K.

ARIEL

Aw, I'll come along, Lord. Enough music's enough.

LORD

Can't stand symphonies, huh?

ARIEL

Uhuh. Coulda told you you had sour notes in your Symphony a long time ago.

LORD

Then, come on.

(They exit, Left. MICHAEL puts out his cigar)

MICHAEL

Let's take one direction at a time. O. K., Gabe?

GABRIEL

Sure. Break it down.

MICHAEL

O. K. I'll take em the way they lie. Music of the Northern Spheres comin up first.

GABRIEL

(Making himself comfortable) — Hit me gently. . .

(Music of the Northern Spheres. It's the same music as before naturally but only a particular section of the orchestra is play-

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ing; e. g., brass, strings, wood-winds, etc.
For each direction a different section, and
the combination of them all goes to make
up the Celestial Symphony)

... That's big.

MICHAEL

Nuthin sour there. O. K. Western Spheres
next.

(Music of the Western Spheres)

GABRIEL

Sweet as a summer's breeze at harvest-
time.

MICHAEL

Nuthin sour there. Eastern Spheres.

(Music of the Eastern Spheres)

Brother, I ain't here no more, cause I
sure am gone.

MICHAEL

Last direction. Southern Spheres.

(Music of the Southern Spheres)

GABRIEL

Boy, even the chicken is in there. This is
livin'...

(But he's hardly finished speaking when
the sour note is heard)

... Huh?

MICHAEL

That's it. The sour note!

GABRIEL

That was unmistakable.

MICHAEL

Wait a minute.

(He plays the record some more and the
sour note occurs again)

GABRIEL

Ouch!

MICHAEL

Seek and ye shall find. The charts of the
Southern Spheres are right here. . .

(He takes them from the desk)

... Let's see. Northern. Southern! Here
we are.

GABRIEL

Mm. Some job.

MICHAEL

Yeah. Just about a trillion stars in each
galaxy, and only about a million galaxies.

GABRIEL

Well, where do we start from. Which one.

MICHAEL

Yeah, which.

GABRIEL

Say, how about playin a hunch, Michael.

MICHAEL

Sure. Which galaxy?

GABRIEL

The Milky Way.

MICHAEL

Oh, no. I hope you don't mean what I
think you mean.

GABRIEL

Well, we'll soon find out. I'll get my De-
partment. . .

(At inter-com)

... Communications!

VOICE

Yes, Lord?

GABRIEL

This here is the Lord of the Broad-Jump,
Zeke.

MICHAEL

(Admonitory) Now, Gabe.

VOICE

Well if it ain't the high-flyin, high-jump-
in Arch-angel; the champ!

GABRIEL

Listen you. Don't forget I'm still your
boss. Besides I'm all through with that
champ stuff.

VOICE

Well, well. Sure does look like the end of
the world is really close at hand, don't it.

GABRIEL

Ah, cut it, Zeke. Look, I'm checkin for
the Lord. I want you to synchronize the
Milky Way solo with the spin of the galaxy.
When you hear the sour note, that's it. Pin
it. Hear?

VOICE

Well call me a bloody human bein if I
do it for anybody else, champ; oh, I mean
boss.

GABRIEL

Ahhhhh!

MICHAEL

Remember, they ain't heard you apologize yet.

VOICE

(Sweetly) — I'm waitin.

(The Milky Way solo; a single instrument, and the sour-noter.)

GABRIEL

(Reciprocating) — Well, I'm waitin.

VOICE

The sound-track and range-finder place the note about six trillion light-years away; about 33,000 light-years from the center of the galaxy in Sagittarius; south, south-east. I've pinned it. Someplace called the Sun. Hold on a minute! No, it's not the Sun either. It's just a shade off to one side of it; a paper's edge off; oh, about 93 million miles.

GABRIEL

O. K. We get the idea. You can tell me later on.

VOICE

O. K. champ; oh, I mean boss, boss, boss.

GABRIEL

Ah, I don't see why I don't fire that angel.

MICHAEL

Now, Gabe.

GABRIEL

O. K., O. K. So he hasn't heard me apologize yet either.

MICHAEL

Well, looks like your hunch wasn't wrong.

GABRIEL

Yeah.

MICHAEL

The Lord ain't gonna like this.

GABRIEL

He ain't gonna like it nohow.

MICHAEL

Again!

GABRIEL

And so soon!

MICHAEL

Well. . .

GABRIEL

Well, guess we better find him and get it

over with.

(They start walking towards Left)

MICHAEL

You know, Gabe, it don't make sense to me. It don't make no sense at all.

GABRIEL

What don't, Michael?

MICHAEL

Conditions down there don't.

GABRIEL

Clarify yourself, fella.

MICHAEL

Well, with all those chosen people down there, priests, ministers, and all, in control nearly everyplace for so long and yet they didn't do nuthin about keepin sour notes out of the Lord's Celestial Symphony.

(The LORD now re-enters. He's still got the remains of his cigar in his mouth. And ARIEL is still with him)

LORD

Goin someplace, gentlemen?

GABRIEL

Don't have to now.

LORD

Lookin for me, huh?

GABRIEL

Yep.

LORD

Well, I fixed it for you, Gabe, I talked to the Committee and they're gonna hold up the Meet for another half-hour. They'll ring some bells for you when the time is up.

GABRIEL

Guess I coulda made it.

LORD

You could?

(GABRIEL nods his head. ARIEL, all this while has been going through some exaggerated athletic postures indicative of broad-jumping)

MICHAEL

Hey, what's the matter with you?

GABRIEL

Looks like he's gonna jump a whole foot. Hey, Ariell!

ARIEL

They're all waitin for you, Gabe; just like this.

(And he goes through a posture or two again. They chuckle.)

LORD

Well, what's new, secretary.

MICHAEL

Nuthin exactly new, Lord.

ARIEL

(Indicating the album and records lying on the floor) — You boys finished over here?

GABRIEL

We're finished.

(ARIEL inserts the records in the album, and the album into the stand)

LORD

You are, huh? Then how about a report. . .

(Nobody volunteers)

. . . Guess you didn't hear me. I said how about a report on that sour note. . . Well, I know this ain't rebellion. Ain't one of you gonna talk?

MICHAEL

It's bad.

LORD

Bad news?

GABRIEL

Yeah.

LORD

Well what did you think I expected. Course sour notes mean bad news. Well?

MICHAEL

Same place as last time.

GABRIEL

And the time before.

MICHAEL

And the time before that.

LORD

From there?

MICHAEL & GABRIEL

(Together) — Yeah.

LORD

The Earth! . . .

(He puts out the remnant of his cigar)

. . . I do declare I don't know what I'm gonna do with that place, fellas. I just finished sending em my boys Jesus, Mohammed, and all the rest. And just this very minute the Mahatma from India he came back to me. What more do they want anyhow.

ARIEL

Don't forget Father Abraham, and old man Mose.

LORD

Yeah, them too.

ARIEL

You gonna get sore and drown em all again, Lord?

LORD

Well all I gotta say right now is I sure am tempted to; and that's a fact.

MICHAEL

Don't seem to do much good though, Lord, lessen you drown em all. Last time you let old Noah get away and look; already he's repopulated the entire Earth.

ARIEL

Gosh. All by himself?

MICHAEL

Prolific, ain't he.

ARIEL

Huh?

GABRIEL

Kid, looks like there's somethins you just gotta wait to learn; specially since we still got no women up here.

LORD

Did I ever tell you fellas that of all the brains I stuck into their heads nobody's ever used up more than 4%?

MICHAEL

4%?

GABRIEL

4%?

ARIEL

(Imitative) — 4%?

LORD

Only 4% out of a hundred. And what's even worse, the ones who get to use even that much are called geniuses.

GABRIEL

Well watta you know; 4% geniuses.

LORD

Yep. That fact sure is a shame. Ariel?

ARIEL

Lord?

LORD

Let's find out what's eatin em this time.
Bring down my T.V. screen.

ARIEL

Yessir.

(He goes to the cord, or rope, at Right-Front, and lowers a scrim that cuts diagonally, cross-stage, from Right-Front, behind the LORD's desk, to LEFT-REAR. GABRIEL moves the armchair to Left.)

LORD

(Pointing to inter-com) — Michael?

MICHAEL

(Immediately; into it) — Communications!

LORD

Gabe, get ready to switch off the lights.
(GABRIEL goes Left, and gets ready to do so)

VOICE

Yes, Lord?

MICHAEL

This is Michael, Zeke. The Lord wants you to connect his T.V. set. Channel Earth. Pronto!

VOICE

Tout de suite!

(MICHAEL now swings around Left with LORD's swivel-chair, placing it in a central position between the two arm-chairs, all facing the lowered screen)

LORD

O. K. Lights out.

(At lights out in the LORD's office proper the LORD, MICHAEL, and GABRIEL seat themselves in the chairs with ARIEL on the floor before them. For a moment there's total darkness. Then the area behind the scrim begins to light up.

As stated, those here presented as being

on Earth are all, with the eventual exception of ARIEL, White men.

The first group, then, to occupy this scrim area of Earth consists of four men who follow each other rapidly onstage, entering Right-Front and exiting Right-Rear. As a matter of fact, the first of them, a FARMER, is exiting right now trying to keep a straight furrow with his plough)

FARMER

Ho there, Bessie. Ho. Keep a straight furrow, girl. Alright? Steady now. Hal

(And he exits, presumably behind his Bessie and his plough. He's immediately followed by a CARPENTER who carried a hammer, saw, a piece of moulding, and a box to saw it on. In addition we will see that he possesses a Carpenter's tape and some nails in his over-all pockets. His movements are rapid. In quick succession he sets his box and tools nearest the LORD's desk, saws the moulding into two pieces, to measure, and goes and hammers them in place right offstage Rear somewhere, leaving his remaining tools and appurtenances where he first set them.

While we hear his hammering offstage, a SCIENTIST in a white smock, or coat, follows holding in one hand a graduated glass container and in the other a small bottle, one containing a powder, the other a liquid. He stops a moment in the center of his area pours from the bottle into the container, and a readily discernible chemical reaction occurs.)

SCIENTIST

(Humorously) — Abara-cadabara!

(He exits, and is closely followed by a POET, thoughtful, absent-minded, looking for inspiration, finding it, and jotting it down. He may look a trifle ragged and seedy)

POET

(Looking up) — Hmm. . .

. . . Ah! . . .

(And he jots it down. He feels the pres-

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it).

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ence of the CARPENTER's box, and sits on it).

... Aha!...

(And he jots it down. The CARPENTER now returns to pick up his things. He does pick them up except for the box on which the POET is sitting. He taps the absorbed POET politely on the shoulder. The POET merely scratches the place. He taps again. Same play)

CARPENTER

Hey you.

(The POET merely shakes his ear out with his finger and continues musing, abstractedly, far-away. The CARPENTER looks at him more closely, shakes his head commiseratingly, pats him understandingly, shrugs his shoulders gesturing helplessly, and thus surrendering his box, exits once again.

The POET now rises with sudden inspiration)

POET

Compassion is the mother of all virtue!
(This is what he's been looking for, so he jots it down feverishly and exits rapidly, in the highest of spirits.

A dim light now outlines the LORD, the Arch-angels, and ARIEL)

LORD

Nuthin wrong so far, eh fellas?

MICHAEL

So far so good, Lord.

ARIEL

Labor is the hand-work of the Lord.

LORD

Even so, I ain't feelin too good yet. Even so.

GABRIEL

Watch this. Here they comel. . .

(The scrim area now quickly fills up with a marching military file of rigid and unbending men; senseless, conscienceless, and perfunctory. They turn about smartly, face the audience simultaneously, then turning to face each other, begin to quarrel immediately, and at first pantomimically, without

sound. From upstage Left to downstage Right there are: A COMMUNIST, a CAPITALIST, A FASCIST an ARAB, a PRIEST, and a MINISTER. In addition, there is also present a little BOY of eight years, normal and bright, who, mockingly, imitates the march and the mannerisms of the others, and, for a time, has a good time indulging thus in some harmless ridicule. But he keeps his eyes open and keeps clear of captive range. For it soon becomes evident that he isn't liked by any of them.)

... Looks like this is it!

LORD

Here we go again.

(The LORD's office now blacks out again. The BOY begins to laugh. Then, suddenly, as though to start things off he darts forward and cries out. . . :)

BOY

Socialism!

(And he darts out of the way of a nasty side-swipe swung by the COMMUNIST who now steps forward)

COMMUNIST

Is that so. Class war, you mean. Down with the filthy Capitalistic leeches. Up, the dictatorship of the Proletariat. To hell with every other class. The State belongs to the people who produce its wealth. Billions for the defense of our Communist Dictatorship!

CAPITALIST

Ya, that's sol!

BOY

Socialism!

CAPITALIST

Scat! Individualism, you mean. Free-enterprise. Profits to the able, and to the strong. The survival of the fittest. To hell with all the rest. We will fight to preserve this way. Billions for the defense of our Capitalistic system!

COMMUNIST

Is that sol

CAPITALIST

Yes, that's sol

(And they return to their places on line

and continue quarreling pantomimically)
Socialism!

FASCIST

Val Il Fascismo. The State is God. Everything belongs to the State. The dirty people they got not rights; they got no freedom. They must do as they are told or they will be liquidated. Obedience. We too will fight!

BOY

(Same play) — Socialism!

(But he's getting tired of the game. Evidently he's heard all this before. So he goes and sits on the CARPENTER's box, cups his chin in his hands, and just listens, rather bored)

ARAB

(After him) — Go! Kick the Jews out of Palestine. Millions of them were slaughtered in Germany. Millions of them perished elsewhere. And we will kill millions more. We are not our brothers keepers. Throw them into the sea. Allah!

PRIEST

My religion is the only true religion. All other religions constitute Error. We shall not allow Error to propagate itself. In any State that we control we will see to it that no freedom is allowed any other religion to propagate itself. In this sign we will conquer!

MINISTER

Ha! Salvation lies not in you. It lies in Faith. Predestination. Being reborn. We, too, will fight and conquer. Out with autocratic centralization. Down with Roman tyranny. We, too, will give our message to the world. Ecrasez l'infame!

(The BOY is really bored now. He yawns immensely, then subsides)

COMMUNIST

In America money talks; nothing else. Being poor is the worst of all possible sins. They have joined hands with the Fascists and the Neo-Nazis in order to safeguard their selfish interests. Defend the dictator-

ship of the Proletariat. Atom and hydrogen bombs upon them!

CAPITALIST

Is that so!

COMMUNIST

Da, that's so!

CAPITALIST

The Soviet Union is a police-state. There is no freedom. There is no independence. Beware the knock on the door. Beware forced labor. We will join hands with those who wish to destroy it. Defend the supremacy of Capital. Atom and hydrogen bombs upon them!

COMMUNIST

Is that so!

CAPITALIST

Yes, that's so!

FASCIST

Down with freedom everywhere. Fascismo! We will use all the Powers for our own advantage. And when the time has come, and they have made us strong again, they will see how we can stab them in the back once more. Fascismo!

ARAB

Kashmir belongs to us. Down with India!

PRIEST

Freedom to propagate religion belongs to us alone. Go away!

MINISTER

Arrogance! Intolerance! It belongs to me too. Go away yourself!

CAPITALIST

Down with the tyranny of the Communist dictators!

COMMUNIST

Down with the tyranny of the Capitalist dictators!

FASCIST

Down with democracy!

ARAB

Down with France!

CHINESE COMMUNIST

(Popping in, then right out again, Smilingly) — Down with Formosa!

PRIEST

No compromises with heretics and unbelievers!

MINISTER

No compromises with tyranny. Authoritarian dictator. Ecrasez l'infame!

ARAB

Egypt for the Egyptians!

BOY

(Now roused again) — Socialism?

(But this time he doesn't escape. The COMMUNIST on one side, and the CAPITALIST on the other, catch him between them and both side-swipe him hard on each cheek. The BOY falls repeating his call. . .)

BOY

Socialism!

(The dim light now shines once more outlining the LORD, and the others; and he's heard)

LORD

Cut that! Cut it! Tell Zeke to cut that! *(Into inter-com)* — Cut it Zeke, and cut it quick!

(All the lights now black out suddenly. Then the office lights come up again as GABRIEL turns the switch)

LORD

(Wiping his brow) — Whew! Couldn't stand no more of that. Ariel, get me a aspirin, boy.

ARIEL

Right away.

MICHAEL

Make that two.

GABRIEL

Three.

ARIEL

Four. I'll make it four. Some scene.

(He raises the scrim, then exits, Right. MICHAEL replaces the LORD's swivel-chair behind the desk as GABRIEL the two arm-chairs in their former position, Right.)

LORD

Nuthin but hate. Nuthin but hate.

GABRIEL

Lord, that wasn't only sour; that was wicked.

LORD

Sure was, Gabe.

GABRIEL

They sure didn't give that kid a break, did they.

LORD

Poor fella.

MICHAEL

But Lord what's happened to all them teachings by Jesus, the Mahatma, and all the rest?

LORD

Just got lost, I reckon. You even saw my two ministers fightin', didn't you?

MICHAEL

Couldn't miss it.

GABRIEL

I bet if they had some Broad-Jump Meets and athletic events it'd take their minds off fightin' for awhile.

LORD

Uhuh. They got em, Gabe. But it don't help much. Besides they got it so commercialized they're always out for blood. That just makes matters worse. Can't compete friendly-like no more. My head. Ah, here's the aspirins.

(ARIEL enters with a tray with four glasses of water and four aspirins. They help themselves)

GABRIEL

(Toasting) — Peace. It sure is wonderful.

LORD

You know, those white folk who run the Earth, they take themselves so seriously, so seriously, they can't find no time to take me seriously. Those boys there, did you notice? They didn't have no sense of humor at all; none at all. Stiff as a board, and rigid; all of em.

MICHAEL

Looks like they can't relax and take it easy even for a minute. Bet they couldn't if they tried.

ARIEL

That little fella, he had a sense of humor.
But look at what they did to him!

LORD

Yeah, him.

MICHAEL

Looks like the only ones who got anything at all done in a decent way were those first four, remember? And they kept their mouths shut too; or almost.

LORD

Yeah, those four.

ARIEL

So whatta you gonna do with em, Lord?

LORD

That's exactly what I'm thinkin about, Ariel.

ARIEL

Didn't make up your mind yet, huh?

LORD

I said I was thinkin, didn't I?

GABRIEL

Sure. No harmony equals sour note. No wonder.

ARIEL

Aw, drown em all and get it over with.

MICHAEL

Drownin em, or destroyin em, won't solve the problem, Ariel. And as far as listenin to your word is concerned, Lord, they're just like chickens without their heads on runnin every which way except into the pot. You bribed em with Heaven and you scared em with Hell. I don't know exactly what to think except I see that Hell, on the Earth, is a mighty bit more powerful than Heaven is. And it sure is scarin the daylights out of em. Yep. Hell sure does seem to scare em sumthin powerful, Lord.

LORD

You're right. But it ain't the only thing scarin em. They just look at each other and they scare themselves even worse. Oh they're scared alright.

GABRIEL

Nobody feels safe and cozy, huh?

LORD

That's right. The cops are scared of the robbers, and the robbers are scared of the cops. The weak are scared of the strong, and the strong are scared of a stab in the back. The poor are scared of the rich, and the rich are scared of revolution. And everybody's scared of sickness, everybody's scared of death, and everybody is scared the Jones'll pass em in the rat race and leave them far behind. And naturally every honest man is scared of his wife. They're all scared of doin this, and scared of doin that. And they're also scared of not doin em, cause there are so many uhuh's, mustn't do's, taboos, and do's and don's, and do's and don't's, and dos and don't's. It's even got me dizzy from countin em all; And I aint finished countin em yet. The boy is scared of the girl, and the girl is scared of the boy. And they're both scared of themselves, afraid they ain't gona measure up to the situation. They're all scared of speakin in their honest minds about almost anything, afraid of bein slapped down by somebody. And with the kind of television they got down there, they're even scared to think for themselves, what with all those experts tellin em what to do every blessed day in the year. And I ain't mentioned half of it yet. It's also like you just saw. The Communist is scared of the Capitalist, and the Capitalist is scared of the Communist. The Protestant is afraid of the Catholic, and the Catholic is afraid of the Protestant. The White folk are scared of the Colored folk, and the Colored folk, they're scared of the Whites. Boy, ain't those White folk gonna be surprised when they get up here and find us in controll . . .

(They all laugh and chuckle at the prospect)

. . . Yessir. And there's plenty more they're scared of too; like Labor is scared of Capital, and vice versa, and et cetera.

ARIEL

And they're scared of war now too, ain't they?

LORD

Well I said et cetera, didn't I?

ARIEL

Oh.

LORD

Yeah, they're scared of that too. But it don't seem to do em much good to be scared of it cause they already been scared so often, so often, they just don't give a hang anymore. So they just go out and do their worst anyway.

GABRIEL

If they're as scared as you say, Lord, seems to me they couldn't see straight, much less go straight. Scared people can't do nuthin right, can they?

LORD

That's right, they can't.

MICHAEL

You know, Lord, all that poison they spouted on that T.V.?

LORD

Yeah?

MICHAEL

Well just supposin for one minute that I'm a human bein. . .

LORD

I hate to suppose it, Michael, but if you insist. . .

MICHAEL

Well, bein a human bein, if I was to make somebody else scareder than I am it'd make

me feel better, and I wouldn't, then, feel so scared myself. Get it? I'm scared, right? So the best way of makin me forget about it is to make somebody else scareder than me. That'd make me feel stronger and safer.

GABRIEL

So that's what they're tryin to do to each other, huh? Tryin to scare the livin day-lights out of each other so they could feel stronger and safer themselves.

ARIEL

Gee, I think that makes sense. Does it, Lord?

LORD

I'm glad to see you boys using your own heads. But. . .

MICHAEL

But what?

LORD

You know, you boys are makin me feel like I did a wrong thing.

MICHAEL

A wrong thing?

ARIEL

Yes, Lord?

GABRIEL

Whatta you mean?

LORD

Well, watchin T.V., and then thinkin about it, and now listenin to you talk I kinda feel like I never shoulda invented Hell. You're right. It does make em all scareder than ever.

(To be continued)

NOTE — How will the story end? Do not fail to read the conclusion of this rollicking drama in the next issue of *The Armenian Review*.

ARMENIAN LIFE ABROAD

A digest of recent happenings among the Armenian settlements in diaspora.

United States:

The American Phase of the Beirut Jemaran and Hamazgayin Fund Drive

With final reports of additional sums trickling in late in May, the Campaign Committee of the 25th Anniversary Fund Drive for the Beirut Palanjian Jemaran and Hamazgayin announced that the American Armenian community had oversubscribed the Drive by about \$36,000. The original goal for the Drive had been set early this year at \$100,000. At this writing, more than \$136,000 have been announced as collected by Drive headquarters in Boston.

The drive to aid the outstanding Armenian educational institution, the Beirut Jemaran (College), and its sponsoring Hamazgayin Society, has been pushed ahead with notable success wherever Armenians are congregated in the dispersion. The American phase of the Drive has manifested sharply the interest of Armenian Americans in educational and cultural work.

Communities in California to Maine, throughout the Mid West and the South, and in Canada, rallied enthusiastically to the call for funds. In all the larger and many smaller communities, special meetings were held at which organizational and individual donations were announced. Elsewhere, in those locales where small concentrations of Armenians made it unfeasible to hold formal meetings, Committees roamed the section soliciting and accepting do-

nations from sympathetic Armenians. Scarcely a section of the United States or Canada did not respond to the appeal. Locally and nationally, the performance in the Drive was outstanding.

The large importance of the Jemaran Drive constrained a number of communities to postpone until its completion local fund efforts designed to ensure construction of needed Churches and other communities enterprises. This was done uncomplainingly as the people accepted the pressing need for funds to aid the Jemaran, and contributed gladly.

Two Publications of the United States Government Take Cognizance of Our Fight for Freedom

During the recent months, the Armenian American community has taken heart from two publications issued by the "Select Committee on Communist Aggression, House of Representatives", the unit which has been widely known as the "Baltic Committee", or the "Kersten Committee."

The first of these two official publications was entitled "Investigation of Communist Take-over and Occupation of the non-Russian Nations of the U. S. S. R.", the second, "Communist Take-over and Occupation of Armenia".

The first comprehended the full text of a hearing held by the Congressional committee which devoted itself to recording the testimony of a number of prominent Armenians in regard to the story of the Communist aggression and seizure of Ar-

menia, in 1920. Witnesses interrogated included Mr. Beglar Navassardian, Executive Secretary of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, Mr. Reuben Darbinian, former Minister of Justice of the Independent Republic of Armenia and presently editor in chief of the *Hairenik* publications, in Boston, General Dro Kananian, former Minister of Defense and Commanding General of the free Armenian state, and prominent Armenian patriot, Mr. Vardges Aharonian, former District Attorney of the City of Erivan, and presently a journalist and educator. The testimony of a number of former Armenian displaced persons were also taken but not in direct regard to the Communist take-over story. The latter testified as to conditions in the Soviet Union which they left comparatively recently.

The report, labelled "Eighth Interim Report", faithfully offered the text of proceedings at the historic New York hearing.

The second document offered by the House Committee was a concise statement on the backgrounds of the Armenian people, their struggle for freedom through the years, the attainment of a free state on May 28, 1918, and how it was that the Soviet destroyed the liberty of Armenia and foisted itself as a foreign master over that country. "Special Report No. 5" is an invaluable publication that should be in every Armenian American home. Those wishing copies of this publication may apply to the *ARMENIAN REVIEW*, 212 Stuart St., Boston 16, Mass., and enclose a dime for mailing expenses. The "Eighth Interim Report" can be obtained through your congressman.

South America:

South American Armenians Expand Activities

News from the Armenian communities in South America reflect a growing effort on

the part of our compatriots in that continent to expand their activities.

Recently, the "Armenia" newspaper, began appearing as a daily after some years as a tri-weekly organ. This step has been hailed by South American readers, and will undoubtedly contribute to the raising of community interest in Armenian affairs.

To cater to the athletic needs of the young people, the "Armenia Cultural Union" of Buenos Aires, Argentina, recently purchased two vacant plots of land which will be graded and developed as a sports arena.

In Brazil, the community of San Paolo is the focal point of interest these days. The development of the Armenian community there has been rapid since the first Armenian refugees arrived in the city 25 years ago. Today, with a large community, there is much interest in cultural affairs. The Armenians of San Paolo support a school and a theater, while a choral group of Armenians is widely sought after in Armenian and other circles.

Montivideo, Uruguay, Armenians participated recently in their community elections at which time the Armenian Revolutionary Federation slate received the overwhelming majority of votes cast. Interest in organizational work has been mounting of late among South American Armenians. This fresh interest has been brought about by the tragic stories of conditions in Soviet Armenia borne to the continent by recent Armenian displaced people. Stories circulated by recent inhabitants of Greece also have been critical of the Communists.

Iraq:

Armenian Organizations are Certified

As is known, local laws prevailing in various countries govern the extent organizations may function.

In Iraq, recently, to accord with the

spirit and letter of the Constitution of Iraq, several months ago the Government declared dissolved all political parties and national societies in the country. This step was followed by a writ in review presented the Government by the three recognized Armenian organizations in Iraq, the Armenian Organization for the Needy, the Baghdad Young People's Society, and the Homenetmen (Hai Endhanoor Marmnrtagan Mioutioun). These organizations prayed that they be allowed to function. This petition was acted upon favorably by the Government, the societies noted have resumed their work. This manifests the degree of confidence placed in them by the authorities. It also reflects how highly the Government regards the loyalty of the Armenian community.

Greece:

Figures from Greece

The Armenian National Church Trustee Board, in Athens, has a happy custom which, unfortunately, is not practiced by our communities elsewhere. It maintains a formal book of data relating to the size and resources of the Armenian community of Greece. A recent report, as an example, cites 9,659 Armenians, representing 3,040 family units, as residing in Greece, while from 100 to 200 other families are scattered here and there in the purlieus. The Board, however, reports only two schools in Greece, one at Athens, the other at the seaport of Piraeus. Schools have not been opened in other communities because of an unfortunate government regulation. The absence of suitable schools is especially felt in Salonika, and elsewhere.

West Germany:

The Passing of Professor Artashes Abeghian

The passing of Prof. Artashes Abeghian,

which occurred on March 12, last, has saddened the small number of Armenians residing in West Germany, as well as Armenians all over the world. Prof. Abeghian passed away in Munich at the university of which he had been serving as a professor of oriental linguistics. Death put an end to a brilliant life of research, authorship and patriotic activity extending over a half-century. Prof. Abeghian received a German education and was conferred a Doctor of Philosophy degree. He was not only a successful educator but the author of a number of brilliant studies in article, pamphlet and book form. Dr. Abeghian was a member of the Parliament of the Armenian Independent Republic. After the Sovietisation, he went to Germany where he resided until death took him. He was a member and vice-president of the German Armenian Union, and did splendid work in that capacity. He was responsible for the acceptance of the Armenian language as a field of study at the University of Berlin where too he served as a lecturer. He did yeoman work during the last war in helping better the condition of Armenian refugees in Germany.

Australia:

A New Armenian Community Begins Taking Root

The last great war caused an Armenian emigration of some proportions, and added numbers of Armenians left the vicissitudes of existence under the onerous Soviet regime in Armenia for a new life in the free world. One of the remote corners of the world, Australia, became the ground for a new Armenian community as a number of Armenians migrated thither.

Leaders of the new Australian Armenian community have not as yet been able to determine the number of Armenians now residing in that continent island but they advance 4-500 as an estimate. One of the

first things the new community has requested is a Church Prelate. Last March, the Rev. Asoghig Ghazarian left California to become the Prelate of Australia. In a first round of visits there, he met with Armenians in Melbourne, Sidney, Adelaide, and elsewhere, saying mass and administering to the spiritual needs of his flock. A plan is underway to build an Armenian church structure in Sidney. The Melbourne Armenian Union will be dissolved and reformed as the "Armenian Church Conference."

Egypt:

News from Egypt

The Egyptian Armenian colony is not only one of the oldest Armenian groups in the dispersion, but also one of the most active abroad. Its interests are manifold.

Recently, the community observed in Cairo the 100th Anniversary of the founding of the Galoustain School, which was founded back in 1854 through the generosity of a Van native, one Karapet Agha Galoust. This magnificent school, which has turned out many generations of educated Armenian young people, was originally named Khorenian, but was retitled "Galoustian" following the death of Karapet Agha. It would be proper to note here that another great Armenian, Boghos Nubar Pasha, in 1924, handed over 10,000 pounds for the establishment of another Armenian center of learning, known as the Noubarian National School. In 1919, a grant from Karapet Melkonian established the Melkonian School, and in 1943, Dikran Merjanian had erected the Merjanian School, in Helipolis.



GEVORG MARZPETOUNI

A Historical Novel

By MOURATZAN

Translated from the Armenian

THE STORY THUS FAR

The time is the first quarter of the 10th century when Armenia is in conflict with the Arab invader. Ashot the Iron, the Armenian King, has alienated two of his most powerful princes, Prince Sevada, the father of Queen Sahakanoush, and Prince Tzlik Amram, the Governor of Outik. The cause of the rift is Princess Aspram, the wife of Tzlik Amram, an old flame of the King with whom he is hopelessly in love. To add to the King's troubles, his princes have deserted him, seeking shelter in the security of their castles, while the country is open to the ravages of the invading Arab army. Prince Gevorg Marzpetouni, a veteran soldier and a devoted patriot, takes it upon himself to reconcile the princes with the King with a view to present a common front to the enemy and, thus, to save the country, but all his efforts prove in vain. The King has retired to the monastery on a little island on Lake Sevan. At this time the King's only two friends are the Queen and Prince Marzpetouni. In his desperation, Prince Marzpetouni decides to take the field against the Arab with only twenty of his valiant and loyal followers, and to this end he proceeds to Sevan where he obtains the King's benediction in his hazardous venture. The prince's force soon falls on an Arab force encamped before the Fortress of Kel and puts the enemy to flight. Led by the King himself, an Armenian force subsequently defeats the Arabs again at Sevan. But the King is wounded. The King's force goes on to the ancient city of Bakaran where Marzpetouni conceives a bold idea to rid all of Armenia of the Arab invaders. The plan, however, is revealed unwittingly by the Catholicos. The king is visited by his brother Abbas at the royal sanctuary at Sevan, and Abbas and Marzpetouni prevail on the ailing monarch to return to his capital of Yerazgavors. Catholicos Hovhannes passes away, and Marzpetouni visits King Gagik, cementing relations between the two Armenian Kings. Ashot finally dies of his wounds, and Catholicos Theodorus crowns Abbas and Lady Gourgendoukht King and Queen of Armenia. Prince Marzpetouni is appointed Commander-in-chief of Abbas' military forces

CHAPTER VII

The Capture of Dovin

After his coronation, for a few weeks, King Abbas remained the guest of Gagik Artzruni, King of Vaspourakan. Gagik entertained Abbas with feasting, hunting expeditions, and showing him the natural and artificial fortifications of his domain.

While this was going on, Gevorg Marzpetouni, the new Generalissimo of Abbas' armies, was occupied with entirely different activities. His first thought was the consolidation of the union among the Araratian and southern principalities, and second, to persuade the remaining princes to his plan of marching against the City of Dovin, and thus, by occupying the capital, to remove once and forever all traces of foreign influence from the land of Armenia.

Meanwhile the Arab Emir was not sitting idle. He knew that Abbas had been crowned king at Vaspourakan and that the greater part of the Armenian princes had joined him. And since he had committed the indiscretion of supporting Ashot the Tyrant's conspiracy, thus having violated his oath of friendship with Abbas, it was plain that the latter, after his coronation, would seek his revenge, especially since he had specifically threatened him to that effect. Therefore, the Emir in his turn was preparing for the worse.

First, he cemented his ties with Ashot the Tyrant, obtaining his promise to support him with his troops in case Abbas attacked him. Next, he sought fresh reinforcements from the Supreme Amira on the pretext that the Arab estates in Armenia were in danger. But the Supreme Amira, being occupied with disturbances in other parts of his realm, disregarded Nassur's request. Thereupon, the Emir joined the semi-independent Amiras of Mesopotamia and the Quardians, and having been strengthened by their auxiliaries, he started to fortify Dovin and the surroundings.

The forts of Dovin and Artashat were made secure by select garrisons and plentiful supplies. These two forts, close together, were linked by secret underground communication lines which afforded shelter in case either was captured in time of war. Next, he divided his force into four parts: the first being charged with the defense of the inner walls; the second was to watch over the outer bastions; the third was to flood the moat around the city and have charge of the portable bridges; and the fourth was entrusted with the defense of Taberakan, the famous large bridge of Artashat over which the enemy could approach the City of Dovin.

Besides, he divided his cavalry into four advance contingents which he sent to guard all the main roads to Dovin.

Notwithstanding all these preparations, the Emir still hoped to escape the revenge of the Armenians because he was familiar with their peaceful nature and still believed he could win the heart of the Armenian King and restore the former friendship.

To this end he sent messengers loaded with gifts to Vaspourakan, to felicitate King Abbas on his coronation and to seek a treaty of peace. Abbas turned back the Arab ambassadors and their gifts with the grim reply: "Tell the Amira that the Armenian King will receive his felicitations in Dovin."

This was enough to impress the Amira that the King no longer would be deceived by him nor would forgive his perfidy. Accordingly, he instantly ordered his troops to prepare for the fight.

On the other hand, the army of King Abbas, which consisted largely of Araratian and Artzruni contingents, was marching very slowly, because, in accordance with a previous agreement, the Lord of Mok and the Patriarch of Aghtznis would join the

King with their troops in the Plain of Sharour, the princes of Siuni would enter Mazas and together with the troops of Karni and Kela would invade Ourdzatsor. Sepouh Vahram, his rear made secure by the arming of the whole of Qougark, would descend with his troops into Shirak, and joining the forces of Yerazgavors, would march to the Plain of Dovin. To give time for their assembly the King's army was to proceed slowly because the Armenian princes wanted to lay siege to Dovin and to attack it with the concerted forces.

But in Dovin the Arabs were feverishly busy with their preparations, piling ammunition near the city walls, filling the armories with inflammable materials, storing up debris to fill up the moats, arming the bastions with iron hooks and battering implements, and piling up rocks with which to shatter battering rams and scaling ladders. In short, they were busy from morning till evening, setting up death-dealing instruments, hoping thus to cause a great slaughter among the besiegers.

Following the completion of these inner preparations, the Emir ordered his men to fill up the moat with water, and presently, hundreds of Arab soldiers loaded with spades hastened to the Channel of Artashat to break the dams and to turn the water toward Dovin.

But days passed and yet the soldiers of King Abbas were not in sight. The Arab cavalry which was guarding the road to Nakhichevan, daily brought news that King Abbas was still camped at Sharour. For this reason the Arabs relaxed their vigilance for a time and gave themselves to feasting and revelling. Even those who were working on the channel became sluggish. In several days they had hardly broken a part of the dam.

However, the forces of King Abbas, now reinforced by the contingents of Mok and Aghtznis, had long since withdrawn from Sharour by night, leaving behind empty

tents and a few regiments as decoy, to make the Arab scouts guarding the road to Nakhichevan think the King's army still was there. As a matter of fact, the King's army had been divided into several parts and was converging on Dovin through unknown trails.

The various allied forces were about to unite when Marzpetouni got word that the Arabs already had started to break the dams of the channel to fill the moat of Dovin. The Generalissimo who was inclined to give his troops a few days rest at Ourdzatsor was terribly alarmed at this ominous news. Filling the moat would present a number of serious obstacles. First, the army would be unable to approach the city gates, and therefore, the attack would fail. Second, it would take a long time and labor to plug the dams and even a longer time to fill the flooded moat with gravel, at least in a few places, to enable the soldiers to reach the wall. Third, the operation would cost quite a few Armenian lives since the walls were well guarded by the Arab bowmen.

The Generalissimo explained all this to the King and urged the imperative necessity of taking a few regiments and stopping the opening of the channel at Artashat. The Allied princes found Marzpetouni's proposition very reasonable, whereupon, the King appointed Prince Babgen, an expert on the region of Artashat, to lead the contingents of Vanand and Siuni on this secret mission.

By sunset Prince Babgen and his troops reached the plain of Azat River and started to advance on Dovin. And since they were marching through the Forest of Khosrovagert which spread from the plain of Azat to the base of Kela mountains, their advance was unnoticed by the Arab patrol guards who at the time were wandering in the plain of Dovin.

At nightfall the Armenians had crossed the Medzamor and were advancing toward Artashat, and although the soldiers were

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tired, the Prince would give them no rest since each lost hour was loaded with peril. He was, however, forced to call a halt a few leagues from Artashat until his advance guards who had gone to scout the channel returned. If the channel had been opened and the moat was filled, there was of course no sense in proceeding farther. Such a step would endanger the safety of his troops to say nothing of betraying the King's arrival to the enemy.

Upon the scouts' report that only a few yards of land separated the channel from the dam the Prince gave the order to advance. As a matter of fact only a few steps separated the two. Beshir, the Commander, was personally supervising the operations. Mounted on his Arabian steed, he scurried back and forth, encouraging and urging his workers. He seemed to want to see the opening of the dam with his own eyes before he departed.

Suddenly, from the side of Artashat, the Armenians fell upon the Arabs with wild shouts and started to slaughter them with their swords and javelins. The attack was so sudden and furious that no Arab dared to resist. Thrown into confusion, and terrified, they threw aside their spades and pick-axes and started to flee in the direction of Dovin and Artashat. The furious Beshir, with bared sword, shouted orders to rally his men but no one would hear him. A few dozens of valiant men rushed at the Armenians with their spades but they were slaughtered on the spot. Seeing his utter discomfiture, the Beshir spurred his horse and fled to Dovin. The Armenians gave chase to the fleeing Arabs, then returned and seized the channel.

The Beshir had escaped with the intention of bringing reinforcements from Dovin and continuing the fight, but the Emir, who was a discreet warrior, would not let his soldiers leave the city.

"Since we don't know the exact number of the Armenians, or where they are en-

trenched, and since darkness prevents us from scouting their power, it is better that we do not risk the safety of our troops. In the morning, with the light of God, we shall see everything and will make the necessary dispositions," Nassur argued, and Beshir agreed with him.

Great was the Arabs' surprise when the next morning they saw that the force which had seized the channel consisted of only a few companies. Beshir was furious with mortification, to think that he, the leader of valiant Arabs, had fled before such a small force.

"I will massacre them right this minute," he bellowed, purple with rage "Not a single Armenian will escape my sword."

Heading a few companies of his fiercest warriors, Beshir was about to rush out of the city. But the Emir, who at the time was watching the plain of Dovin from a tall minaret of his mansion, saw that a large company of horsemen was advancing from the west, namely the road to Karin where he had sent no patrol guards.

"Our allies are coming, they are Ashot's troops," he shouted at Beshir who was standing in front of the mansion, issuing orders to his troops.

"We will finish them off without their assistance," Beshir replied boastfully, and lining up his company he came out of the walls of Dovin.

Prince Babgen's position was grave. Altogether he had 500 troops, and although they were the bravest of the brave, nevertheless they could not hope to resist long against such superior numbers. Besides, they were out in the open, between Artashat and Dovin, unprotected on all sides and with no time to erect barricades. The Arabs could easily surround them and massacre them to the last man. Their only salvation lay in retreat. On the other hand they did not want to retreat because, doing so, would leave the channel to the Arabs who could complete the operation in half an hour and

turn the water toward Dovin. This would nullify their entire victory, as well as their hopes for the future.

In sending the Prince on this mission King Abbas had assured him that he himself, together with his army, would be at the gates of Dovin in the morning. And now the sun was up and still the royal army was nowhere in sight, not even the vanguard. Prince Babgen's scouts who had watched the hills of Artashat from all sides came back to report that they had seen a cavalry company on the road to Karin speeding toward Dovin, but elsewhere, they had seen no one except the Arab patrols.

"Only the traitor's troops can come from the road to Karin," Babgen observed "We must expect our salvation from the plain of Dovin."

"Or from heaven," commented one of his aides.

"If it is the will of God," added the Prince solemnly.

Just then the southern gates of Dovin were thrown open and the Arab troops, to the blare of the trumpets, rushed out toward the channel of Artashat.

Prince Babgen already had lined up his small company into a triangle and was issuing orders, when the clash came, to split the attackers into two parts and then start the fight. Such a strategy would break up the force of the initial impact and would afford plenty of leeway for the wielding of their weapons.

The minute the Prince heard the sound of the trumpet he mounted his stallion, and baring his sword, spoke to his soldiers:

"My beloved braves. We are few in numbers and the enemy is powerful. But our cause is right, while their's is wrong. God will help the just and his arm is most powerful of all. Face the enemy without fear nor turn your backs to him. God will help you to vanquish him the second time, but those of us who may fall in battle, let them be comforted in the thought that they die for

the Fatherland and the Holy Cross which is gazing upon us from the heights of Dovin."

Saying it, the Prince took off his helmet and facing the dome of the Church of St. Gregory, he prayed: "Help thou us, O holy mother church. Our fight and death are for the liberation of thy children. Do not let the enemy boast that he vanquished the holy cross."

He put on his helmet, and wielding his sword in the air, shouted, "On to the enemy."

The braves of Siuni and Vanand followed him with wild shouts. The Arabs met the Armenians with similar shouts and screams. It was a clash of the brave with the brave. The swords shone and the lances were wielded right and left with furious impact. The attack was so furious and the clash so shocking that in an instant both lines were broken. The Vanandians were separated from the Siunis, and the latter were broken among themselves. The Arab ranks, in turn, were hopelessly shattered. A part of the Armenians repelled their right wing while the latter pressed the Armenian left. Thus, the ranks being broken, the fighting was diffused on a number of centers. This circumstance worked to the advantage of the Armenians who, having plenty of freedom of motion, fought more successfully. The Emir who was watching the course of the battle from his minaret, seeing the vigorous resistance of the Armenians, sent fresh reinforcements to his troops. The fresh attack slowly forced the Armenians to yield ground. Each of their companies was surrounded by overwhelming numbers of enemy troops. The moment seemed hopeless. Prince Babgen, who had been fighting madly, seeing the new attack, stopped for a moment, and turning to the Mother Church of Dovin, devoutly prayed:

"O thou Cross of Gregory the Illuminator! Wilt thou endure our massacre and

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give the Arab the victory who is scorning thy sanctity? Prove to the enemy, O holy church, that our trust in thee was not in vain. Show him the power of thy right arm."

Saying it, he swooped on the enemy with bared sword and started to defend the weakened flank of his warriors. But neither his heroism nor the valor of his soldiers seemed to prevail upon superior numbers. On the contrary, in a number of spots, the Armenians were finally subdued. They would gladly have sought safety in flight if they did not fear complete annihilation. One more effort and the Arabs were about to sound the trumpet of victory. But just then they heard the thunderous shouts of a huge Armenian army. Sepouh Vahram, sword in hand, fell upon the Arabs like a swirling cyclon. He was followed by the braves of Qougark, Basen and Shirakan. They fell upon the Arabs like a cloudburst, slaughtering them ruthlessly, some by the sword, some by the spear, and many were trampled under the hooves of the horses.

Prince Babgen was surprised at the miracle. He could not account for Sepouh Vahram's sudden appearance out of nowhere. As a matter of fact the cavalry force coming from the west which the Emir had mistaken for the troops of his ally, Ashot the Tyrant, was in reality Sepouh's cavalry which, at the order of the King, had evaded the Arab patrols and had arrived on the scene at the most critical moment of the fight.

Sepouh's sudden appearance instantly changed the entire complexion of the battle. The Arabs were taken by surprise while the warriors of Siuni and Vanand, taking courage, fought all the more furiously. Thousands of flashing swords, spears swaying, helmets being cloven through, armor being pierced, shields being broken. The shouts of the victors and the moaning cries of the fallen, the clash of arms dinned the air, filling the entire plain.

But the star of victory seemed to incline toward the Armenians. Confounded by the

furious charge of the newcomers and severely broken, the Arabs started to fall back in a number of places. Seeing the panic of his troops the Beshir ordered retreat sound-ed to save the remainder from the massacre. But it was not an orderly retreat: the Armenians gave chase to the fleeing.

Presently the gates of Dovin were opened to receive the fleeing general, whereupon Sepouh conceived a daring plan. He ordered his troops enter the city together with the fleeing Arabs but Prince Babgen, who was a better strategist, stopped him, arguing that the safety of the troops might be endangered inside the city.

Satisfied with their victory the Armenians returned to the plain by the channel. In the evening, when the fight was over and the Arabs were securely enclosed inside the walls of Dovin, the King arrived with his royal army and the contingents of Generalissimo Gevorg and the Allied Princes. The King's army, at the orders of the Generalissimo, surrounded the city on all sides.

Seeing the city moat was still dry, and hearing of the splendid victory, the King was very happy and in token of his gratitude he embraced and kissed Prince Babgen and Sepouh Vahram. Then he ordered the army to stage a great bonfire for the night.

When darkness fell and the huge wood piles were set on fire the City of Dovin presented a magic spectacle. The flames of hundreds of pyres rising to the skies illuminated the whole surroundings with a cloak of deep red. The walls and the bastions of the capital were enveloped in fire and the observer from a distance thought the entire city was on fire. Its tall mansions, its colonnaded palaces, the domed churches with their shining crosses, the tall minarets of the Emir's palace and the Arab mosques with their golden crescents stood out in brilliant, shining colors against the darkness of the night, lending the city a sort of mysterious appearance.

To the observer from the heights of Dov-

in, however, it was an entirely different panorama. The King's army which surrounded the city on all sides and even in daylight looked formidable, assumed a ten-fold awesome and terrible aspect in the darkness of the night. The flaming light from hundreds of burning pyres, it seemed, doubled and trebled the number of the troops, while the singing, the tumult and the shouts of the victorious troops made the besieged Emir very uneasy.

The Armenians of Dovin, on the other hand, secretly were thrilled although they did not dare to give free expression to their exultation. The thought of Emir's rule would soon be ended and that the proud Arab would finally bow before the King's victorious banners filled their hearts with infinite joy. They murmured prayers to God, young and old, women and children, that the good Lord would glorify his name by leading victory to the Armenian Cross and the Faith of the Illuminator.

Watching all this from the minaret of his palace, the Emir was beside himself with rage. Putting the blame of all these failures and misfortunes on his commanders he started to curse them.

Finally he summoned Beshir to take counsel with him. "As it looks," he said, "these Armenians are too numerous and too powerful for us to resist, should they attack us. It seems to me there is only one way of averting a clash and to force Abbas to become reconciled with us."

"And how do you propose to do this?" asked Beshir whose pride and insolence was shattered by his defeats.

"We will tell the Armenian King that, if he does not accept our terms of peace and does not withdraw his troops from Dovin, we will hang from the tower his cousin, Prince Sahak of Siuni who is a hostage with us."

"If Abbas really wanted peace he would not have rejected your ambassadors' and your gifts."

"The conclusion is?"

"The conclusion is he will refuse your proposition."

"Then I will hang that prince. After that, let his brothers Babgen and Sumbat dare to attack us. Before they capture Dovin they will have to embrace the corpse of their brother."

"And if suddenly they capture Dovin?"

"Let them capture if they can. At least I will have pierced their heart with that murder."

"But, my Lord, that's a very dangerous decision," Beshir observed. "These Armenians are never brutal when they capture a city, they don't massacre the people as we do. If they capture Dovin they will not harm our persons, nor our soldiers, if you will not give vent to your spleen. But if you kill Prince Sahak then all of us will be ruthlessly massacred. You don't know the Siunis but I have often clashed with them and I know the Armenian nation's ferocity. They will never endure the insult should you kill the Prince."

This line of reasoning impressed the Emir who hung his head and fell into deep thought.

"What are we going to do then?" he finally asked, stroking his thin beard.

"We will defend ourselves with all our might," Beshir replied with finality.

Having come to this decision the Emir and his general parted.

But there was no special conference in the Armenian camp that night. The King and the princes were sure they held the city of Dovin in a tight ring. All they had to do was to wait for the morning when, after the necessary reconnoitering, they would decide whether to capture the city by frontal attack or by laying siege to it.

At midnight the patrol guards reported to the Generalissimo that a large body of cavalry was advancing toward the Armenian camp along the road of Nakhitchewan. These were the Emir's patrol guards who,

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having learned that the Armenians of Shaurour had left the camp, were hurrying back to block their advance, or report to the Emir.

Realizing that this new force intended to attack his rear while he was busy assailing the city, the Generalissimo ordered Sepouh Vahram to take his cavalry and meet the newcomers. Sepouh's regiment was reinforced by the braves of Mok.

In a deep plain at Vedi the Sepouh surprised the Arab cavalry and ordered them to surrender, but the latter, unable to see the size of the Armenian army in the dark, instantly charged. The two sides closed in but the skirmish did not last long. After a brief resistance, finally realizing the odds against them, the Arabs asked for a truce. The Sepouh granted their request, and after disarming them and seizing their horses, he led the prisoners to the Armenian camp.

To liquidate the Emir's other patrols who had been sent to guard the roads to Khlut, Berdgantz and Goghbaphor, Prince Marzpetouni sent a large cavalry force under the command of Sepouh Vahram, Prince Sumbat and the Lord of Mok who rounded them up in all these places, captured a part, and chased the rest to the border of Azerbaijan and the land of the Quardians.

Ashot the Tyrant, who had promised to support the Emir with his troops, having learned of King Abbas' arrival at Dovin together with the princes, as well as his victories, not only broke his promise but gathered his forces and entrenched himself in Bakaran.

After cutting off the communications of Dovin from all sides, King Abbas called a council of his princes to determine the manner of the forthcoming attack. The Generalissimo Gevorg, who prized the life of the Armenian soldier very highly, advised the King to make a proposal for the surrender of the city without a fight.

"If the Emir agrees, good and well; if not, we will attack," said the Generalissimo.

Prince Sambat seconded Marzpetouni's proposition whereupon the King gave his assent. The princes followed suit. The same day the Patriarch of the Aghznis, accompanied by a few freemen, went to Dovin to speak with the Emir.

Emir Nassur received the King's ambassador in a magnificent hall of his palace and expressed willingness to hear the Armenian King's message.

"King Abbas commanded me to tell the illustrious Amira," he began, "that Dovin is the capital of Armenia, founded and ruled by Armenian kings, and that, even during recent years it has belonged to the Armenian princes. The lieutenants of the Supreme Amira may reside there as his agents and collect his revenues. But they have no right to occupy the city, and thus infringe upon the land's freedom. The ruler of the country is the Armenian king; the owner and dispenser of freedom, the people itself. Yousouf and his predecessors, in addition to their unlawful usurpations, have often extended their tyranny over Dovin.

"There have been times when the Armenian princes separated from their King, or basely plotted against him. But now that the princes are with me and my soldiers are loyal to me, I am strong, and for this very reason I will not permit Yousouf's successor to follow the same path and oppress my people. Regardless of the fact Nassur the Amira violated his friendship pact with the late Armenian King and joined the conspiracy against the Armenian throne, regardless of the fact that he usurped the Armenian Catholicosate and exiled the Armenian Catholicos, a crime for which, I, as the defender of the church, should have punished him, behold I invite the Amira to surrender the city to me peacefully, after which I shall permit him to reside in his mansion. In the contrary event, when I capture Dovin by force, let the Amira know clearly that I will destroy all his troops and all those Amiras of Dovin who

have estates in Vostan and mansions in the squares of Dovin. Furthermore, I will not even spare the Amira himself. By doing all this I shall not incur the enmity of the Supreme Amira but only will have punished his agent who has disturbed the peace of the land by his indiscretions."

The Amira who had been quietly listening to the words of the King's ambassador, upon hearing the last words, leaped up and exclaimed:

"Your new King is even more insolent than his predecessor. Tell him I will accept no conditions of a peace and that I rightly rule the city which was conquered by the Arab's sword two hundred years ago. Let him march his troops and seize the city by force, if he can. But, let him not forget that this time he will be fighting the Supreme Amira of the Arabs, and not only his lieutenant."

The Ambassador Prince returned with his retinue and reported to the King the answer of Nassur.

"Very well then. We have done our duty, and we shall show that Arab that his threats in the name of the Supreme Amira do not dismay us, nor chain our rights," spoke the King calmly, then he ordered the Generalissimo to make ready for the attack.

Bit by bit they brought over siege implements from Yerazgavors — battering rams, balisters, catapults, slings and iron scaling ladders, mounted on carts. Prince Marzpetouni had attended to this as early as the King's visit to Vaspourakan. His commanders, each of whom was an expert military engineer, had assembled the necessary apparatus and now were busy setting it in order. They were busy constructing portable towers and triple-decked bastions to batter down the walls of the city.

But since the moat around the city was not yet completely filled and the siege implements could not readily be carted next to the walls, the King gave the order for

attack without the use of these machines.

This being done, and further to dissipate the concentration of the besieged, the Armenians attacked the city on all sides at the same time. To meet the all out attack, naturally, the Arabs were forced to draw upon the defenders of the bastions, thus reducing their number in half.

The Armenians, who were noted for their expert bowmanship, concentrated their arrows on the rear of the shielded ranks, then, slowly approaching the walls, started to repel the defenders. The latter, however, concentrated their missiles on those who were dragging the scaling ladders.

There was a furious fight in front of the main gate of Dovin where a number of bastions defended both the iron gate and the second wall. After silencing these bastions it would be easy to demolish the first wall, materially weakening the defence of the city.

But the shower of missiles from the height of these bastions, as well as the flow of inflammables, prevented the Armenians from bringing the scaling ladders closer. Here the attackers were assisted by the firebrand shock troops, who, protecting their heads with their shield, and holding inflammable brands in the other hand, swiftly crossed over the moat and started the fire before the walls. These were followed by the woodpackers who, in a few moments, built up large wooden pyres on the burning brands, and thus, started a large bonfire in front of the walls and the bastions.

The heat and the smoke of the lapping fires repelled the defenders of the bastions. Meanwhile, the Armenians brought their scaling ladders where there was no fire and started to scale the walls and seize the bastions.

Seeing it, the Arabs intensified their attack on the scalers but the latter were reinforced by fresh recruits. Despite the heat and the smoke which was choking the fighters, the clash on the bastions was furious.

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The Arabs and the Armenians fought each other like packs of tigers; the daring attack on the one hand, and on the other, the desperate resistance of the defenders. Sword against sword, spear against spear, slashing, hacking one another, corpses on all sides, bodies catapulting from the bastions like the leaves of autumn. And yet, brave meeting brave, both sides remained invincible.

But since these encounters steadily cut down the numbers of the Arabs while the Armenians, on the contrary, were being constantly reinforced, the former finally were forced to yield ground. The Armenians seized the frontal bastions and turned to the second walls. Here another furious battle ensued between the crowded Armenians and the Arab defenders of the corridor. The slaughter on both sides was great, but since the Arabs received no reinforcement, here too they were finally overwhelmed. The Armenians now were in complete command of the second wall whose ramparts promptly were cleared and the material used for filling up the moat.

This unexpected success, gratifying both to the King and his allies, forced Marzpetouni to be satisfied for the moment, and to give his warriors a brief respite, he called a halt to the attack. The larger part of the troops returned to the camp while the remainder kept up the work on the second wall. By evening the greater part of the outer wall was demolished, the moat was filled, and the next day the Armenians could contact the inner wall with their battering engines.

However, due to the heavy losses the Armenians had sustained, the King delayed the forthcoming attack by several days. The interval was used in felling trees from the forest of Dovin, completing the leveling of the moat, and piling up firewood in front of the wall to set it on fire when the time came.

A few days later the King and the princes decided to launch the second attack. To this

end, the batteries were the first to be moved into position. The first to be mobilized were the battering rams which were manned by comparatively few, and which were used for opening breaches in the wall. The heavy catapults, manned by hundreds, used for demolishing the ramparts, were stationed before the towers. The light balisters, which were not protected like the battering rams or the catapults and which were used to hurl javelins and bayonets, were stationed at a safe distance from the walls, out of reach of the bowmen's arrow. But the wooden bastions, whose number was not many but which, due to the solidity of structure, were the safest barricades for the besiegers, were stationed against the pyramid-shaped towers with the intention of bridging them, transport troops, or to breach the wall with hidden battering rams. These bastions were dragged, creaking and groaning, the light ones on wheels, and the heavy ones with the aid of cylinders.

These preparations, which took several days, were often interrupted by the besieged, now by the bowmen and now by the slingers. And although the Armenian casualties were few, due to their extreme caution, nevertheless they stalled the operation considerably.

Each evening, at the orders of the Generalissimo, the troops approached the walls, to prevent the Arabs from stopping the mechanical preparations in the night. They could do this only by descending from the walls and setting fire to the machines.

When all was ready, the King gave the order to advance. It was a morning in May, one of those days which is delightful before sunrise but scorchingly hot once the sun reaches its summit. The Armenian troops had just emerged from their camp and the princes had just made their military dispositions when news arrived that there were movements in the plain of Artashat, and that the soldiers were deploying from the citadel. That indicated that the Arabs

were about to take he field.

The commanders of Dovin had decided to launch a twin attack on the Armenians, from Dovin and Artashat. The Dovin attack would be frontal, but the one from Artashat from the rear. This arrangement was very promising, both in point of timing and the selection of the place. It would take place at the moment when the Armenians would emerge from their ramparts and march against the city. They would be caught completely off guard.

But the Generalissimo surmised the Arab ruse and ordered his army to come out of the camp fully armed. Besides, he ordered the Prince of Mok and Sepouh Vahram to hold their regiments in readiness and be the last to come out of the camp. They were instructed to watch, and when they saw any stirrings on the Artashat flank, instantly to separate from the main body and attack them. The main force advancing on Dovin could easily take care of any emergency, should the Arabs decide to come out of the walls.

Sepouh Vahram was highly pleased with this plan and on his part conceived another idea. With the help of God, after repelling the Arab force emerging from Artashat, he meant to enter the city in the ensuing debacle. The Prince of Mok and Prince Kor were in hearty agreement with this daring design.

As was expected, the moment the Armenian army mobilized and the regiments of the rear guard had left their bastions, the wide gates of Artashat were thrown open and the Arabs rushed out with wild cries with the intention of striking the Armenian army in the rear. At this, the three leaders of the Armenian rear suddenly wheeled about to meet the Arab onrush. Taken aback by this sudden move and seeing that their secret was out, the Arabs nevertheless continued their charge until the two sides met.

Being superior in numbers, the Arme-

nians easily surrounded the Arabs. The slaughter continued for about half an hour. The Arabs were fighting courageously, meanwhile looking toward Dovin, hoping the Emir's army would come out of the city and confound the Armenians. Time passed, the Armenians continued the slaughter, and yet there was no sign of any help from Dovin. The Emir and Beshir seeing that their ruse had been anticipated by the Armenians, and realizing the danger of venturing out at this moment, made no move to assist their Artashat contingent. The latter, disillusioned by now, and after suffering considerable losses, turned around and fled to the city.

The Armenian commanders ordered their troops to mingle with the fleeing Arabs and enter the city. The terrified Arabs, fleeing to save their lives, could do nothing to stop the confusion. And when the Arab Commander of the fortress, thinking the fugitive troops were all safely in, ordered the gates closed, he was horrified to see that the huge iron hinges of the gates already had been shattered by the Armenians, and the slaughter in the city already had begun. Prince Kor with his braves put to the sword the meager garrison of the citadel and hoisted the victorious Armenian banner before the castle.

Seeing their complete defeat, the Arabs asked for a truce, and the Armenians, likewise tired, put a stop to the slaughter and took control of both the city and the citadel. The news of this victory was received by the Armenian army with great jubilation, because with the occupation of Artashat the last obstacle to the success of Armenian arms was permanently removed.

The next morning the royal army approached the gates of Dovin, and led by Generalissimo Gevorg, Sepouh Vahram, and the Princes of Siuni, Mok, and Aghtznis, started the second and strongest assault on the city. The sun was just gilding the tops of Kela mountains when the assault began.

The companies of the bowmen were showering their arrows, the balisters discharging their sharp missiles, the slingers were hurling their inflammables, the catapults firing huge incendiaries, while the battering rams kept pounding at the walls. The portable towers concentrated their work against the bastions and the pyramids, repelling the defenders, throwing scaling ladders, and demolishing the sides of the pyramids.

The inexorable and unyielding assault inflicted heavy losses on the defenders, slaughtering the troops, setting fire to the closer structures, and ruining the fortifications. All the same, the Arabs resisted fiercely. Their bowmen and lancers avenged their losses. Besides, they burned an Armenian tower, put out of commission several battering rams, and with their grappling hooks overturned and destroyed countless scaling ladders.

All the same, the resistance zeal of the besieged could not be kept up for long, especially since they were forced to fight on the entire circumference of the city. On a number of points the Armenian attack was so furious that the Arabs were forced to retreat to the safety of the inner bastions, leaving the outer bastions to their fate which were promptly siezed by the attackers. Furthermore, the corps which was led by the Generalissimo had succeeded in breaching one of the iron gates by the use of its catapults, and was feverishly busy clearing the inside court. This done, the army would be free to enter the city.

Seeing this irreparable damage, Beshir hastened to the Emir's palace to make his report. He said the enemy could enter the city any minute and he advised the Emir to withdraw his troops to the safety of the citadel. Nassur, who had not forgotten the King's threat in case he captured the city by force, was terribly afraid.

"When the city walls and the bastions could not protect us," the Emir said, "the

citadel will avail nothing. Had the Armenians not occupied Artashat we might have thought of the citadel as our last refuge. We could then have used the underground passage. But now all the passages to Artashat are closed. If we sit tight in the citadel the Armenians finally will capture it or starve us to death by a long siege. Moreover, if we continue to resist we will further provoke the enemy's anger. After he siezes the citadel he will spare none of us."

"What are we going to do then? Time is of the essence," the Beshir asked.

The Emir did not reply. He dropped his eyes and fell into deep thought.

"What are we going to do, my Lord? We have no time to lose," the Commander repeated.

"Do you know what. . . ?

"Command me."

"We will willingly surrender the city to the Armenians."

"What?" exclaimed Beshir, "what about the slaughter and the enormous losses we sustained?"

"He who salvages the remainder, no matter how infinitesimal, acts wisely," the Emir observed seriously. "If we act stubbornly, we might lose even more. . ."

"And so?"

"We will turn over to the King his capital in order to save our soldiers and our persons."

The Beshir fell silent.

One hour later a green flag — the white flag of Islam — was floating from the tower over the big gate of the city, indicating that the besieged were asking for a truce. Soon after, the gates opened, revealing Nassur's ambassadors, to deliver the keys of the city to the Armenian King.

Instantly the bugle sounded, putting an end to the fighting. The Arab delegates reached the King's tent, and after delivering the Emir's message of surrender, they handed him the keys to the city.

The next morning the Armenian army

made its formal entry into the city. First to enter was Gevorg Marzpetouni with his Araratian corps, bearing the banner of the Generalissimo, which seized the important sections of the city to make them safe against untoward disturbances. He was followed by the Allied princes, each with his regiment and the regimental banner. Then came Sepouh Vahram, leading his mounted cavalry. Next came the royal cavalry with the royal banner, followed by King Abbas, surrounded by his elite guards. Finally came Prince Kor with his vanguard corps, bearing the banner of the Marzpetouni House.

After making his dispositions to insure the peace of the city, the first thing, the Generalissimo sought Prince Sahak of Siuni who was a captive. He found him in the citadel, still guarded by Arab guards, and brought him to the King. The King embraced him warmly and said, "For sparing your life, I forgive the Emir. Let him live in his palace and enjoy the blessings of our

City."

The meeting between the two Siuni princes with their brother Sahak was touching and their joy of reunion was shared by all the princes.

Then the King, accompanied by the Generalissimo, the princes and the soldiers, went to the Temple of St. Gregory, to worship God and to offer thanks for the great victory.

After the ceremony the King went to the Palace of Tignouni, formerly occupied by the Arabs, but which the Generalissimo had hastily made ready for the King's residence.

The next day they liberated the Armenian Catholicosate, ejecting all the Arab officials. They also freed all the other royal palaces and distinguished buildings each of which had been occupied by an Arab Amir.

Thus, there was great joy in the land, for the Armenian capital had been finally rescued by the Armenian braves.

(To be concluded)



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BOOKS AND AUTHORS

H. Kurdian, Reviewing Editor

NATIONAL MINORITIES: AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM. By *Inis L. Claude, Jr.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955. \$4.50.

Reviewed by DR. JOSEPH S. ROUCEK
University of Bridgeport

Starting with the assumption that the problem of national minorities has "commanded so little official attention in the years since the Second World War, as compared with the period after the first great war of this century", Claude has written a summary of the trends treating this problem from the Minorities Treaties and the machinery of the League of Nations, through the discussions of the minority problem during World War II, and the international treatment of the minority problem in the post-war world.

As a summary of other summaries, this is a handy reference book. But, unfortunately, the specialist in this field will find it quite boring. Claude is wrong in his basic assumptions as well as in his treatment.

To start with, his premise that "so little official attention" has been paid to the problem is nullified by wealth of arguments and steps taken on behalf of national minorities, as described in Parts II and III of this book. Part I, furthermore, is just so much wasted paper. Claude says nothing that has not been said, and even better, by Stone in his *International Guarantees of Minority Rights* (1932). Furthermore, Claude leans entirely too much on a few authorities in this field (Stone, O. I. Janowsky, Temperley, Macartney and Robinson). He is unacquainted with the literature covering this period and problem published in Central-Eastern Europe, especially in Czechoslovakia (— and in English —) before 1939. In fact, Claude could have made quite a contribution to this field by improving and modifying the information provided by this few favorite authorities.

Fortunately, the treatment improves in Part III, when Claude surveys the Potsdam and Paris Conferences and the efforts of the United Nations to do something about the general and specific minority problems. Since his favorite authorities could be of no help to him, Claude dug the information out of the documentary sources and *New York Times*. But, again, at the risk of appearing to be too over-critical, the reviewer has reservations in regard to the last section; to him, Claude has been shadow-boxing never delivering the full punch, especially in regard to the handling of the national minority problem by Soviet Russia.

To the reviewer, the use of Pan-Slavism and the Russification imperialism of Moscow are but of the several weapons in the arsenals of communism used to handle the problem of national minorities not only in Soviet Russia but also among satellites and throughout the world. Not a word about Armenians, although their problem attracted international attention. Or is it enough to say that "The Soviet bloc is committed to the international adoption of the principle of positive minority rights, even though it adamantly rejects the principle that the sovereign right of Communist states to determine minority policy for themselves should be impaired by any external agency"? As a matter of fact, is not the Soviet bloc committed to the international adoption of the principle of positive minority rights for communist minorities?

The work has all the earmarks of a doctoral thesis; if that is the case, we can make some excuses for Claude's distressingly stale product. It follows a formula which has been done again and again, and adds nothing to freshen or throw more light on the past performances.

— JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

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THE MOVEMENT OF PAVLIKIANISM IN ARMENIA (in Armenian). By *S. T. Melik-Bakshian*. Small octavo, cloth, pp. 264, map Erivan (USSR), 1953. Price 10 rubles.

Here is a book that has ruined a perfectly good subject with Bolshevik theories by which the author tries to measure the movement of Pavlikianism (Paulicianism) in ancient Armenia. It will be correct to say that the author has taken some Bolshevik clichés and has tried to fit Pavlikianism to it, just as one will take a foot and try to fit to a shoe.

The book, until pp. 128, has nothing whatever about Pavlikianism. From 128 on we learn very little if anything at all about pavlikianism. All through the book, through quotations from Lenin, Marx, Engel, Stalin, we are assured that ancient heretical divisions, such as was Pavlikianism were nothing less than class struggles of down trodden masses against the feudalistic avarice, ruthless exploitations of the organized church. We are assured that the church oppressed and taxed to the limit the lower and helpless classes. But we are not told that the church did keep the poor-houses, leper colonies, hospitals, schools, charitable monastic institutions, roads, bridges inns etc. for

the same masses which supposedly it has robbed. The usurious and bribery activities of few church members are attributed to ALL of the ecclesiastical class without even hinting that there were many canons against such usury as well as vigorous punishment of those of the clergy who against the true calling of their position practised usury.

Right through the books we are told again and again the evils of the church organization, its oppression of masses . . . as if the Bolsheviks have not been and still are not the greatest oppressors of the masses.

After a lengthy research on Pavlikianism, the author is obliged to confess that unfortunately we do not know much about them, about their organization, composition, aims; but nevertheless with Bolshevik reasoning, he dares to conclude. "Only soviet historical science, armed with marxist leninist ideas, is able truly to appraise the socialistic movements of the past and to show that they were the class struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors and exploiters." (p. 230) Evidently just as the author of this book has been able to do about Pavlikianism.

Of course, there is nothing more to say.

The book has a Russian resume, an elaborate bibliography (with all the Marxist "classics" included), and an index.

THE RELATIONS OF ARMENIAN AND RUSSIAN PAINTING (in Armenian). By M. S. Sarkisian. small octavo, cloth, pp. 180, with numerous illustrations some in color. Erivan (USSR), 1953. price 10 rubles.

A well prepared intelligent book that gives a comprehensive picture of the relation of Armenian and Russian painting in 19th century.

The author presents his subject with Russian painters that used scenes from Armenia for their paintings and illustrations, beginning with M. M. Ivanov from the end of the 18th century. With the Russian penetration in Armenia and fall of Erivan in 1827 the art-loving Armenians enrolled in the Russian Art Academy at Petrograd, the earliest of them being S. Nersesian who graduated in 1842.

Eventually many Armenian artists of international fame went to the same school. Among these perhaps the best known is Ayvazovski.

All known Russian-Armenian artists are presented here and samples of their work are introduced. However, we missed the fine work of Vano Khotchabekian and his sketches of the Tiflis "kindos." Although Panos Terlemazian is represented, Arshak Fetvadjian has been denied space. Fetvadjian who died in Boston years ago spent years in Armenia painting scenes and types.

Like all books published on the other side of the Iron Curtain, this also is no exception when it came to giving heavy tax of lip service to Stalin and his Bolshevism.

ON TWO "REVIEW" ARTICLES

There were among many two particularly interesting articles in the last issue of *THE ARMENIAN REVIEW* (Spring, 1955). The first article

was **POLITICAL CURRENTS IN ANCIENT ARMENIA**, signed by the late Prof. N. Adontz. The second article **ASPECTS OF ANCIENT ARMENIAN HISTORY**, by Prof. Richard N. Frye of Harvard University. Both of these articles are highly recommendable and informative. However I would like to reflect on few points.

The Prof. N. Adontz article expresses historical analyses that we share wholeheartedly. But there are statements that somehow I would think historically could not be sustained. Prof. Adontz says: "The first year of the accession of Yezdegerd the Persians had raided the Imperial (Byzantine) lands contrary of the Treaty of 422. It was only the pacifism of Emperor Theodosius which prevented this unlawful invasion from its serious consequences. Vassak's plan could have been inspired by Byzantium as a demonstration or a measure of counterrevenge against the Persian insult." (p. 15).

There is no historical indication that Vassak's plan was inspired by Byzantium directed against the Persians. As a matter of fact Vassak's plan was for Armenian resistance to Persian infringements against the personal and spiritual rights of the subject Armenians. The plan that was developed by Vassak for about 15 years (before 451 and Avarayr) was for national defense, protection of the Armenian people's individual rights, religious as well as cultural, but nowhere do we find any declaration of intention of revolt and secession from the Persians. Vassak appealed to Byzantium only when the fat was in the fire and an armed clash with the Persians seemed unavoidable. Armeno-Byzantine relations during those first two centuries are not very clear, but we do not see a great deal of friendliness or much hope for assistance from Byzantium. The Armenians scarcely 100 years before had opposed Byzantium with arms, and while fighting the Persians they broke loose from the Universal church then convened in Chalcedon near Constantinople, a sure indication that there was not much love for the Byzantines among the Armenians. Vassak evidently appealed to Byzantium for help with much the same logic that Prof. Adontz shows; but Byzantium did not justify the expectation or the logic, and even informed the Persians of the secret Armenian intentions, adding that they would not in any way support the Armenians, thus practically for all purpose encouraging the Persian to take any step they may have found necessary against the Armenians. Perhaps there is no documental accuracy in the statement that the Armenian historians attribute to Emperor Marcian when he addressed Chosroes of Persia (the famous as well as hideous "We have among us an untoward and wayward nation (Armenians) who muddy the water" etc.) However there is here a clear condensation of the feeling and the thought that the Armenians of those days had for Byzantine diplomacy in regards to the Armenians, which hardly needs any additional explanation by us.

I do not share Prof. Adontz's deductions about Khorenatzi, his history and the time. However this is not the place to express my dissension on this subject. I firmly believe that Khorenatzi existed in the Fifth century, A.D. and prepared his splen-

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did work at that time. The fact that he omits material about the Mamikonians in general as far as I am concerned is another proof that he belongs to the Fifth century and not to later centuries, to which from time to time he has been attributed by various modern research writers of Armenian history and literature.

Prof. Adontz's article indeed is a splendid summary, clear and understandable, of Armenian parties. His evaluation of Vardan, Vassak (Siuni), etc., I endorse whole heartedly as correct. I hope those of my readers who had missed this splendid article will go back to that issue of *The Armenian Review* and read it.

Prof. Richard N. Frye's article, in the same issue of *The Armenian Review* in which Prof. Adontz's article appeared, is a very interesting one. Prof. Frye's opinion "that one must study Armenian history in its proper perspective, as part of world history" (p. 55) is undoubtedly not an overestimation.

The questionable opinion of R. Grousset that "The Armenian (language) was only a spoken language, without writing, throughout the centuries (before the invention of the Armenian alphabet)" (*Histoire de l'Arménie*, Paris 1947) is a baseless assumption to say the least. A cultural nation like the Armenians could not have gone for more than a thousand years without a written language. Their highly developed internal and foreign commerce, religious organization, literary fragments, poems of which we have inherited, and above all their keenly defined national pride which Armenianized foreign gods, legends, etc. are evidence that can not permit us to make such deductions as R. Grousset has made just because "There exists no document, no inscription in the Armenian language, dating from the time of the kingdom (190 B.C.-193 A.D.), even in foreign characters." There are fragments, although an important part of Ancient Armenia remains absolutely unexcavated. Beside, even if we have important evidence we are not yet in a position to evaluate and recognize the evidence.

For 1500 years we did not have a single letter to believe that Korioun was stating a fact when he was stating that St. Mesrob, beside discovering alphabets for Armenians and Georgian, also discovered an alphabet for the Caucasian Albanians. However today beyond any doubt we can offer proof, with two Armenian manuscripts, one at the State Library in Erivan and the other in my private collection, that such an alphabet was and still exists. (I have an article to be published in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* with photos of the alphabet and designs of the letters). And yet for 1500 years not a single document on metal, stone, vellum or paper, nay, not a single line, word or letter had been discovered, found or known as Caucasian Albanian.

Prof. Frye's deduction of some Aramaic inscriptions found in Armenia could be convincing proof that Armenians may have used Aramaic alphabets for Armenian words. That the Armenians also used Greek and Syriac alphabet we have evidence.

I sincerely hope that Prof. Frye will appear again and again in the pages of *The Armenian Review*.

FUND DRIVE FOR THE BEIRUT ARMENIAN PALANJIAN HAMAZKAYIN COLLEGE

This Armenian institution now is 25 years old established in the heart of Beirut, Lebanon. 25 years ago two Armenians Levon Chanth and Nicol Aghbalian, both men of great vision, established the much needed College with a very modest foundation, keeping an existence which we can describe as hand to mouth. However their great dream, unflinching faith and devoted persistence brought the school to a plane of importance that eventually drew the wholehearted support of many culture-loving Armenians everywhere in the world.

Today although Aghbalian and Chanth are gone, the institution, and educational center, flourishes ever more.

The Armenian College of Beirut, named after a generous Armenian named Nishan Palanjian, is more than just a college today. It is an educational center for all Armenians of both sexes, from kindergarten to accredited high college.

And then there are cherished dreams for the future, dreams that they are kept by a few very devoted apostles of the institution. One of these apostles is a very retiring, but very determined, highly educated Armenian of Beirut. He is Vahe Sethian a well liked, well-educated, extremely charming individual, whose sound ideas, coupled with his great appreciation of Armenian culture, made my few days of stay in Beirut (in 1954) most memorable ones for me. Vahe is an inspiring person and only through him I had a chance to see the highly laudable aims of the Beirut Hamazkayin institution.

Perhaps I was reluctant to visit just another school; but with Vahe's personal guidance the pile of the old and new buildings of Palanjian College took another shape. He indefatigably described to me the future dream of the great library to-be-formed, the center of the Armenian cultural research and education, the great printing press which will publish all those important volumes that today remain in dust, obscurity and the perils of tomorrow. He spoke to me of the Armenian cultural museum to be eventually organized there. Indeed Vahe's words and dream was particularly close to my heart. His dream was a second and modern St. Lazzaro of Venice. He showed to me how some day women and men Armenian historians, researchers, doctors, poets, writers, musicians, actors, scientist, etc. would emerge with heads high proud of their knowledge.

Vahe Sethian however does not only dream and hope. He is practical. He works while he dreams; and so already many valuable publications and manuscripts have been accumulated by him that otherwise would have perished and be forever lost to Armenian culture. His personal sacrifices in the matter are great, but they assure us that this dream WILL be a reality soon enough.

Now this is the spirit that Armenians of America are expected to support financially in the fund Drive that has stirred the big and small Armenian centers in USA. It is thrilling to see the contributions mount up for this very highly commendable cause. I sincerely believe that no better cause has been sponsored until now among the

Armenians in the USA then this Fund Drive for the Beirut Palanjanian College.

But why limit the Fund Drive only among the Armenians? Why not appeal to great and well known American public Foundations such as the Ford Foundation? I have no doubt if the Armenian College needs are properly and adequately presented to such Foundations they will help. The Armenian College in Beirut and the planned research foundation is and could be one of the finest anti-communist educational centers in the delicate Near East. It could be a center to inject high American ideals in the Near East, helping to raise the standard of thinking and living there.

Why not appeal directly to the American public? Did not they help when sad days were upon Armenians? Today the desired contribution is not for bread but for books, education, health and learning.

I still remember Vahe's last words before we parted at the air line's office:

"We don't hope for or expect millions . . . only thousands . . . only thousands."

THE CELEBRATION OF FATHER NERSES AKINIAN'S JUBILEE

Among so called JUBILEE or similar celebrations of this years the only deserving one was without doubt Father Akinian's whose services to Armenian history, ancient literature etc. could not be properly presented here because of its great quantity and quality.

The celebrations of Father Akinian's Jubilee were postponed last year because of the unfortunate accident the venerable father suffered when he fell. Fortunately in spite of his advanced years he recovered well and so this year the Jubilee celebrations are in full force all over the Armenian centers outside of the infamous Iron Curtain.

Father Akinian was and still is a prolific producer. Some of his work is of controversial nature. Part of it is perhaps way off its mark and so unacceptable. But nevertheless he has presented enormous research which could and eventually will enrich Armenology. As an undefatigable hunter of new sources always enrichingly collated in his many articles, he has traveled far and wide to search for Armenian old manuscripts and study them. He has made a valuable collection of Armenian colophons which remains unpublished. He also has a monumental critical history of ancient Armenian literature which we are told contains everything that has been written in Arme-

nian. This great work also remains unpublished. Let us hope that the celebrations in the Dispersion, Armenian communities will raise enough funds to enable the venerable scholar to publish some of his unpublished volumes, particularly his history of Armenian ancient literature.

Father Akinian accepts the principle of constructing by destroying what ever is not solid enough to retain in our history. This however is not always a good and successful way of reconstructing the history of Armenian nation, its cultural religion, literature. However Father Akinian's activities inspire others to do additional research on the matters refuting or concurring with him as the case may be. As far as I am concerned I believe it is too early yet to dissect the various texts we have inherited from our ancestors. It is more urgent that we should publish completely collated new editions of those various texts, a text with the studied collaboration of every known manuscript of that text. Only then should we attempt to criticize very carefully the text and its author. This has not been done so far for example, for the histories of Pavsos Puzant, Agatankhehos, Gorioun, Ghazar Parbetzy, Movses Khorenatzy, Sepeos and others, although we have a very numerous and voluminous research and critical literature on those historians and their works. This I believe is the wrong way to approach the all important subject, and it is almost a disservice to Armenian culture. Father Akinian more than any one has had the opportunity and the ability to prepare completely collated editions of the most controversial texts in Armenian ancient literature such as Khorenatzy etc. But somehow the learned father preferred to indulge himself in critical examinations. However by doing so, now more then ever, it becomes imperative to publish scientifically collated texts.

It is heartening that Armenians in far flung corners of the world have such great appreciation of the important work of Father Akinian. Due to this they have had celebrations in which all Armenians who love their culture and the cultivators of that culture have joined together regardless of creed or other variations. We can not say enough on our part in praise of the work of our good friend Father Akinian. We wish him a long and active life to fulfill his cherished desire of completing and publishing his great work. We wish him all the good luck and the magic that will open the closed doors of various libraries to him. We sincerely hope and pray that everything good will come Father Akinian's way.



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